

**IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA**

DEMOCRACY NORTH CAROLINA, THE
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF
NORTH CAROLINA, DONNA PERMAR,
JOHN P. CLARK, MARGARET B. CATES,
LELIA BENTLEY, REGINA WHITNEY
EDWARDS, ROBERT K. PRIDDY II,
WALTER HUTCHINS, AND SUSAN
SCHAFFER.

Plaintiffs,

vs.

THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE BOARD
OF ELECTIONS; DAMON CIRCOSTA, in
his official capacity as CHAIR OF THE
STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS; STELLA
ANDERSON, in her official capacity as
SECRETARY OF THE STATE BOARD OF
ELECTIONS; KEN RAYMOND, in his
official capacity as MEMBER OF THE
STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS; JEFF
CARMON III, in his official capacity as
MEMBER OF THE STATE BOARD OF
ELECTIONS; DAVID C. BLACK, in his
official capacity as MEMBER OF THE
STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS; THE
NORTH CAROLINA DEPARTMENT OF
TRANSPORTATION; J. ERIC BOYETTE,
in his official capacity as
TRANSPORTATION SECRETARY; THE
NORTH CAROLINA DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES;
MANDY COHEN, in her official capacity as
SECRETARY OF HEALTH AND HUMAN
SERVICES,

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 20-cv-457

**DECLARATION OF PAUL GRONKE IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS’
MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

1. I am a Professor of Political Science at Reed College and Director of the Early Voting Information Center. I received a BA in Political Science from the University of Chicago, a Master's Degree in Western European Politics from the University of Essex, Colchester UK, and a PhD in Political Science from the University of Michigan. I have written scientific research publications on voting by mail, early voting, voter turnout, and election administration that have appeared in peer-reviewed journals and university press edited volumes. I have written and collaborated on policy reports on public opinion and the opinions of local election officials (LEOs) about elections and election administration. The principal focus of my research and writing since 2006 has been early voting, election administration, local election officials, and public opinion about elections, election reform, and electoral integrity.
2. I created the Early Voting Information Center (EVIC) in 2006 as a non-partisan center for the study of non-precinct place voting in the United States. EVIC has attracted more than \$1,000,000 in funding from public charities, non-profits, state governments, and federal agencies. As the Director of EVIC, I regularly consult with election officials at the local and state level to help them anticipate and plan for the changes wrought by the growth in early in-person, no-excuse absentee, and vote by mail voting. I worked as a contractor and subcontractor in 2006 and 2008 for the federal Election Assistance Commission, helping to oversee the collection, analysis, and reporting of election administration data pertaining to the National Voter Registration Act, the Uniformed Overseas and Citizens Abroad Voting Act, and the Election Administration and Voting Survey. I helped develop the section of the Election Assistance Commission's Election

Administration and Voting Survey (EAVS) that asks for information about early in-person and absentee ballots. I designed the survey questions for early voting used by two highly regarded academic election surveys, the Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) and the American National Election Study.

3. I have published a number of articles that contain statistical analyses of national, regional, and state trends in voting by mail, early voting, and the demographic and attitudinal characteristics of individual early in-person and no-excuse absentee voters. These publications include peer-reviewed articles in *American Politics Research* (2012), the *Annual Review of Political Science* (2008), the *Journal of Social Issues* (2008), and *PS: Political Science and Politics* (2007). Other published works that discuss the legal and administrative changes to early voting and the public response include a 2015 *Electoral Studies* article, a 2014 chapter in *Measure of American Elections*, a 2008 *William and Mary Law Review* article, a 2008 chapter in *Democracy in the States*, and 2019, 2016, and 2008 chapters in editions of *America Votes! A Guide to Election Law and Voting Rights*. A complete list of my publications is included in my curriculum vitae, attached to this document.
4. In light of my scientific expertise, I was retained to give expert testimony in *League of Women Voters v. State of North Carolina* (Civil Action No. 1:13-CV-660, 2014-2015) and provided an expert report in *Ohio State Conference of the NAACP, et al. vs. John Husted et al.* (Case No. 2:14-cv-00404, Summer 2014).
5. I have been retained to opine on the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on administering the November 3, 2020, general election in North Carolina. Specifically, I have been asked to opine on (1) the

impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on administering in-person voting (early and on Election Day); (2) the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on by-mail voting; (3) the evidence accumulated so far in 2020 regarding the best mix of in-person and by-mail voting options; and (4) when and how state and local election administrators in North Carolina need to act in order to assure a safe, secure, and accessible election this fall.

6. My expert opinion is that the State of North Carolina needs to act immediately to assure a safe, secure, and accessible election in November. The state should encourage county boards to immediately identify sufficient in-person voting locations for early voting and precinct place voting, and require that this information be publicly released at the earliest possible instance. The state should suspend the uniform hours requirement for satellite early in-person voting locations and should suspend the requirement that a majority of poll workers reside within an election precinct. The state should allow for electronic requests of absentee ballots and suspend the requirement for two witness signatures on the returned ballot materials. Finally, the state should assure that sufficient resources are available to every county board to implement these changes.

I. Background on Voting By Mail

A. National Trends

7. Voting by mail is a method of balloting in which a ballot is produced by a local election official, transmitted to an eligible voter using the United States Postal Service (in most cases¹); an eligible citizen

¹ The Federal Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act (MOVE) requires states to provide blank absentee ballots to UOCAVA (Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act) voters in at least on electronic format – email, fax, or an online delivery system – at least 45 days before an election.
<https://www.fvap.gov/uploads/FVAP/Policies/moveact.pdf>

completes the ballot and provides additional validating information (in most cases, a signature, although 12 states require additional or alternate verifying information, such as a notary or witness signature, copy of a valid identification, or copy of an identification and a witness or notary signature²); and the ballot is returned using the United States Postal Service or is returned to a designated drop box or elections office.

8. The terminology used to describe voting by mail can be a point of confusion. Historically, this method of voting has been called “absentee voting” because the assumption is made that an eligible voter is sent and casts a ballot outside of an elections office or polling place on Election Day because the voter is “absent” and unable to appear on Election Day. Absentee voting was first made available in nineteen of twenty-five states in the 1864 election so that soldiers in the field could exercise the franchise.³ By the end of World War II, most states provided for some sort of civilian access to an absentee ballot for a variety of reasons: business travelers, railroad workers, and citizens who were sick and infirm. With the ratification of the 26th Amendment and the addition of many college students to the voting rolls, many states extended absentee balloting rights to students. In 1975, the passage of the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act (Pub. L. No. 94-203, 89 Stat. 1142 (1976)) extended absentee balloting to citizens living overseas. In all of these cases, the voter is presumed to have a legally specified reason for being “absent” on Election Day.
9. I will refer in this document to this method of balloting as “excuse-

² State requirements for verifying absentee ballots are documented by the National Conference of State Legislatures. <https://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/verification-of-absentee-ballots.aspx>.

³ Fortier, John C. 2006. *Absentee and Early Voting: Trends, Promises, and Perils*. Washington, D.C.: AEI Press.

required absentee voting.” As of the time of this writing, sixteen states require an excuse for requesting an absentee ballot.

10. In the late 1980s, beginning with California in 1978, and followed by a number of additional states in the 1980s and 1990s, many states removed the need for a designated excuse to request an absentee ballot, thus giving rise to a second method, most commonly referred to as “no-excuse absentee voting.”⁴ Today, thirty-four states and the District of Columbia, including North Carolina, do not require an excuse to vote absentee by mail.⁵
11. Finally, five states among those thirty-four are “fully vote by mail,” sometimes referred to as “universal ballot delivery” states. This method was first put in place in Oregon in 2000, and is also used by Colorado, Hawaii, Utah, and Washington. In a fully vote by mail system, every valid registered voter on the registration rolls is sent a ballot without the need to file a request. These fully vote by mail states do not operate precinct polling places, although states continue to provide in-person voting services at county offices and, in some cases, designated voting centers in addition to county offices.

⁴ John Fortier, 2006, *Absentee and Early Voting: Trends, Promises, and Perils*. Washington, DC: AEI Press.

⁵ N.C. Gen. Stat. § 163-226(a)

12. The following figure, reproduced from the National Conference of State Legislatures,⁶ provides a visual representation of these three different “voting by mail” voting regimes. As the figure makes clear, no-excuse absentee voting is available in every region of the country.

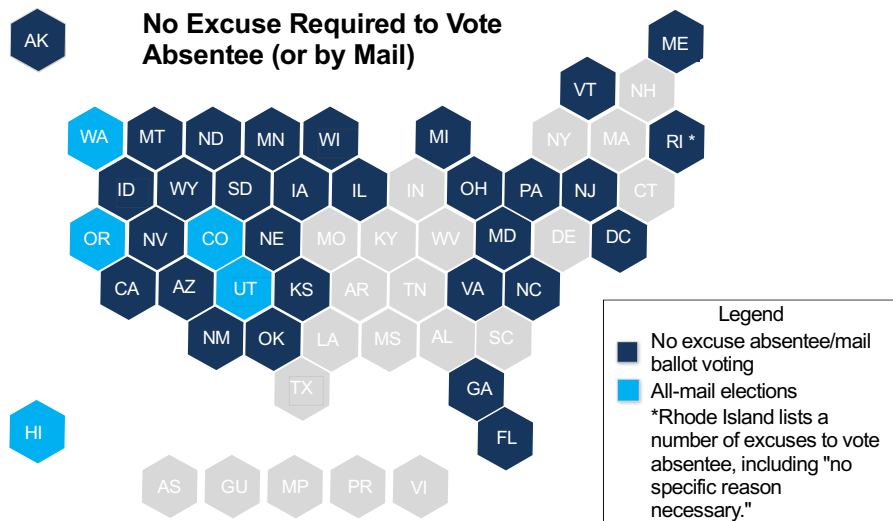


Figure 1: Vote By Mail Options as of May 2020

13. For the purposes of this report, I will rely on the umbrella term “voting by mail” to refer to the no-excuse absentee election administration system that is currently in place in North Carolina and other states. When I refer to a citizen “voting by mail,” I refer to the individual act of casting the absentee ballot, regardless of the state in which they live.
14. The use of voting by mail and early in person voting has grown as these methods became more widely available across the country. The Census Bureau has conducted the Current Population Survey (CPS) Voting and Registration Supplement in November of federal election years since 1960.⁷ The CPS is a large random sample survey that is an

⁶ Source: <https://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/absentee-and-early-voting.aspx>

⁷ <https://www.census.gov/topics/public-sector/voting.html>

authoritative source to compare registration and voting in the United States. The following figure displays the percentage of respondents nationwide who report voting on Election Day, voting early in-person, and voting by mail from 1996-2018 (prior to these years, the CPS did not ask about when the ballot was cast). According to the CPS survey data, Election Day voting comprised more than 90% of ballots cast in 1996, and just over 5% of the survey respondents said that they cast a ballot by mail. Twenty-two years later, according to the CPS survey conducted after the November 2018 election, 23.1% of CPS respondents said they cast a ballot by mail.⁸

⁸ 2018 Current Population Survey Voting and Registration Supplement, Table 14, “Method of Voting by Selected Characteristics: November 2018.” <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/voting-and-registration/p20-583.html>

The Growth of Early Voting, 1996 - 2018

Source: Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Supplement

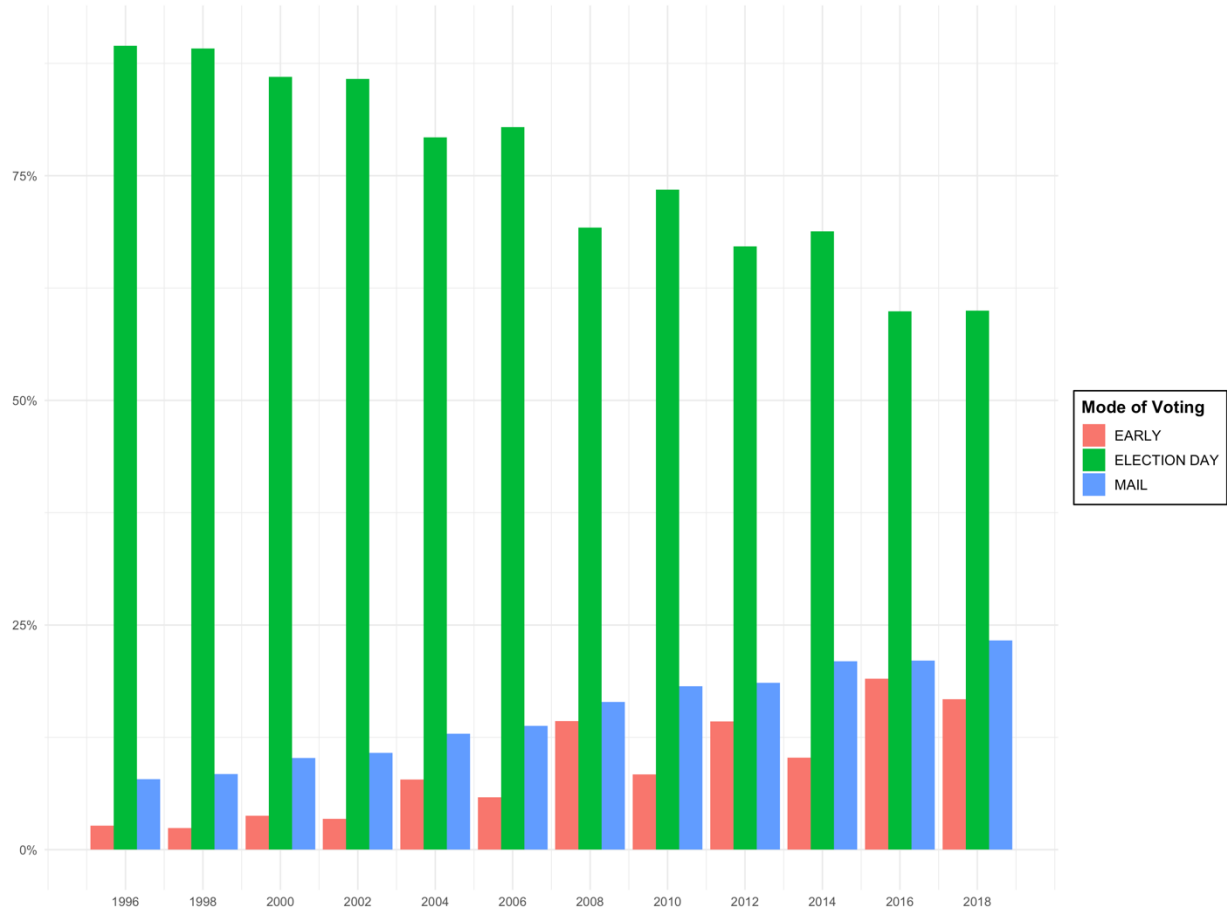


Figure 2: Election Day, Early In Person, and Voting By Mail from 1996-2018

B. North Carolina

15. North Carolina removed the need for an excuse to request an absentee ballot in 2001.⁹ Figure 3 details the percentage of voters in North Carolina who report casting a ballot on Election Day, Early In Person, and By Mail from 1996-2018, using data from the CPS Voting and Registration Supplement.¹⁰ Official voter turnout statistics from the State of North Carolina indicate that 5.5% of ballots were cast absentee by mail in 2016¹¹

⁹ N.C. Gen. Stat. § 163-226(a).

¹⁰ Calculated by the author using the CPS Voting and Registration Supplement survey datasets.

¹¹ Source: NC Board of Elections, https://s3.amazonaws.com/dl.ncsbe.gov/ENRS/2016_11_08/absentee_stats_20161108.pdf

and 2.4% of ballots were cast absentee by mail in 2018.¹²

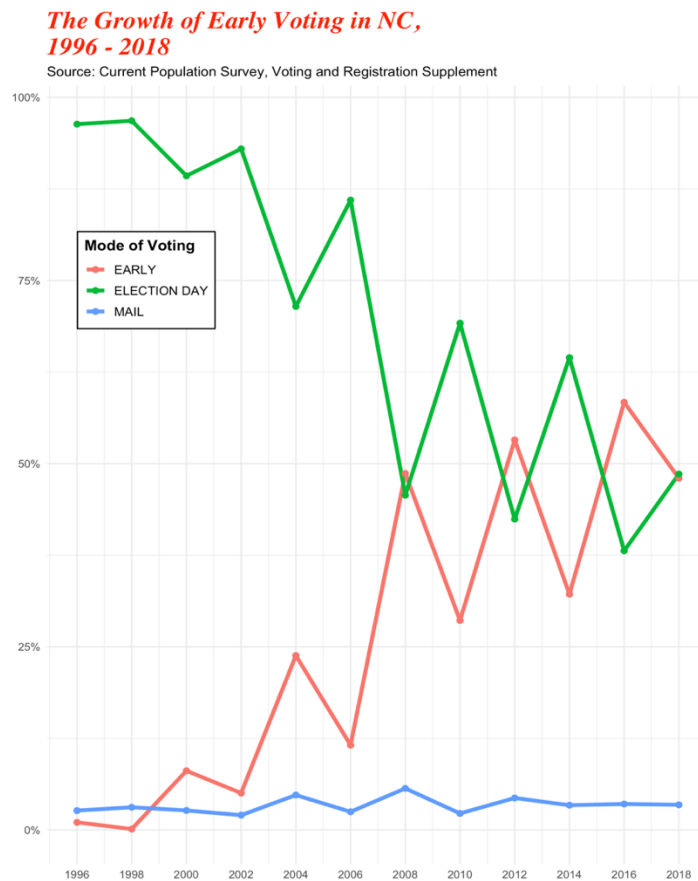


Figure 3: Use of Election Day, Early In Person, and Voting By Mail In North Carolina

16. Usage of voting by mail remains very low in North Carolina, something that distinguishes the state from other states that do not require an excuse to request an absentee ballot. According to data reported by the Federal Election Assistance Commission's Election Administration and Voting Survey, in 2016 North Carolina has the seventh lowest percentage of ballots that were cast absentee by-mail.

¹² Calculated by the author from the 2018 absentee ballot (https://dl.ncsbe.gov/?prefix=ENRS/2018_11_06/) and the total ballots cast in 2018 (https://er.ncsbe.gov/?election_dt=11/06/2018&county_id=0&office=FED&contest=0).

Among the states that did not require an excuse for casting an absentee ballot, North Carolina ranked lowest in terms of the percentage of ballots cast absentee by-mail.¹³

17. One possible reason for this is that North Carolina rejects many absentee ballots. In Figure 4, I report the average percentage of absentee ballots rejected in 2012, 2014, 2016, and 2018 among four kinds of states: states with all vote by mail, states with high vote by mail usage (50% and higher), states with mid-tier vote by mail usage (20-50%), and states with mostly polling places. Thirty-one states, including North Carolina, fall into the “mostly polling places” category.¹⁴ As shown in the figure, mail ballot rejection rates in states that mainly use polling places are substantially higher than in states with more extensive by-mail balloting. North Carolina stands out as having a rejection rate higher than the average in the “mostly polling place” (less than 20% by mail ballots) in 2014, 2016, and 2018.

¹³ Comparisons calculated by the author. Percentages were calculated by dividing the number of absentee ballots counted by turnout, from Pg. 23-25, Table 2, of the Election Assistance Commission, *The Election Administration and Voting Survey: 2016 Comprehensive Report*.

https://www.eac.gov/sites/default/files/eac_assets/1/6/2016_EAVS_Comprehensive_Report.pdf

State absentee ballot laws in 2016 were taken from the National Conference of State Legislatures. As of October 2018, the NCSL reported that Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia were the states that required an excuse to cast an absentee ballot. <http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/absentee-and-early-voting.aspx>.

¹⁴ Calculations were made by the author. State absentee usage categories are determined by the 2018 absentee ballot rate, calculated using the 2018 EAVS, as described in Footnote 13. .

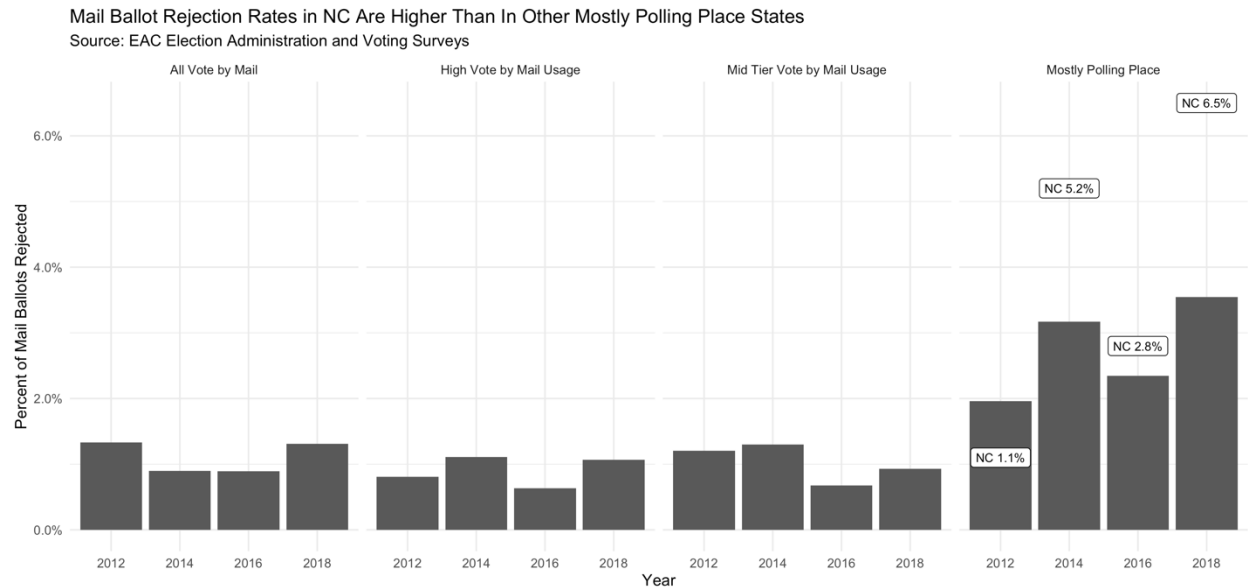


Figure 4: Mail Ballot Rejection Rates in the 2014 – 2018 Elections

18. Voters in North Carolina have shown a strong preference to continue to cast a ballot at a precinct place or at an early in-person voting location, even though no-excuse absentee balloting has been available for nearly two decades. In the following sections of the report, I examine how COVID-19 impacts the administration of in-person and by-mail voting.

II. The Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic On Administering Elections

A. In-Person Voting

19. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) has issued interim guidance for election polling locations to prevent the spread of the novel coronavirus that causes COVID-19. The recommendations include: encouraging mail-in voting, encouraging early voting, relocating polling places from locations that would put certain populations at risk (e.g. nursing homes and senior living residences), and adding social distancing measures to protect

individuals during voting.¹⁵

20. Expert reports that have been issued since the onset of the pandemic recommend that election officials “develop techniques to spread out arrivals to polling places so that they are more even throughout the day.”¹⁶ Election officials are urged to obtain and provide personal protective equipment and other supplies to assure the safety of poll workers and voters.¹⁷
21. Election officials may need to identify additional polling sites in order to provide a safe voting environment. The Ad Hoc Committee for 2020 Election Fairness and Legitimacy at the University of California-Irvine argues that additional in-person voting locations may be necessary:

To the extent [election officials] have discretion, they can increase the number of polling places and decline to consolidate polling places. By minimizing the number of voters assigned to each location, election officials can reduce crowd size, shorten lines, and promote social distancing.¹⁸

North Carolina laws and policies need to be adjusted in order to allow election officials to implement these recommendations, find new polling locations, and communicate these changes to voters.

22. Some areas may need to consolidate polling places because some

¹⁵ Centers for Disease Control, “Recommendations for Election Polling Locations.” March 27, 2020. <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/community/election-polling-locations.html> Accessed May 21, 2020.

¹⁶ Nathaniel Persily and Charles Stewart, III, March 19, 2020, “Ten Recommendations To Ensure A Healthy and Trustworthy 2020 Election,” *Lawfare*, <https://www.lawfareblog.com/ten-recommendations-ensure-healthy-and-trustworthy-2020-election> Accessed May 20, 2020.

¹⁷ Christopher R. Deluzio, Elizabeth Howard, David Levine, Paul Rosenzweig, and Derek Tisler. April 20, 2020. “Ensuring Safe Elections.” Report of the Brennan Center for Justice. https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/2020-04/2020_04_5StateCostAnalysis_FINAL.pdf Accessed May 20, 2020; Ad Hoc Committee for 2020 Election Fairness and Legitimacy. April 2020. “Fair Elections During A Crisis.” Irvine, CA: University of California, Irvine Law School. <https://www.law.uci.edu/faculty/full-time/hasen/2020ElectionReport.pdf>. Pg. 7.

¹⁸ UCI Ad Hoc Committee Report, pg. 7

locations that have traditionally been used (e.g. schools, long-term care facilities, retirement homes) are no longer available. As the National Conference of State Legislatures' "Covid-19 and Elections" website notes:¹⁹

Poll workers may not be as willing to serve due to health risks, which can make running an election more challenging. Moving to consolidated polling places—in which several precincts vote at the same location—or moving to vote centers—in which any voter from a jurisdiction can vote at any polling place, usually a larger facility—can reduce the total number of poll workers required.

23. But precinct consolidation sometimes comes with dire consequences, including longer lines and longer distances to polling sites, which can have a negative effect on voter turnout, as reported below. The state needs to do what it can to mitigate poll worker shortages, such as removing the requirement that a majority of poll workers be residents of the local precinct.
24. Identifying new polling locations, whether as part of a process of consolidation or adding new locations (and reassigning voters) takes time, resources, and expertise. For example, in California, the California Civic Engagement Project (CCEP) was engaged in 2017²⁰ to provide assistance to counties that sought to locate vote centers, which are required by the California Voters Choice Act²¹ for any county that moved to a universal absentee ballot delivery system, starting with the 2018 election. The CCEP developed a sophisticated

¹⁹ National Conference of State Legislatures, 5/21/2020, "COVID-19 And Elections," <https://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/state-action-on-covid-19-and-elections.aspx>, accessed May 25, 2020.

²⁰ Personal communication with Dr. Mindy Romero, June 2, 2020.

²¹ The Voters Choice Act was passed and signed into law in 2016. <https://elections.cdn.sos.ca.gov/vca/sb450-chaptered-legislation.pdf>

methodology²² to optimally locate vote centers and mail-ballot drop boxes.

25. A failure to locate polling places and voting centers that are convenient and accessible can discourage some citizens from voting. The 2018 Current Population Survey's Voting and Registration Supplement asked a sample of U.S. citizens why they did not vote in the 2018 midterm election. The most common response of respondents (27%) was "too busy, conflicting schedule," another 3.3% cited an "inconvenient polling place," and 2.9% said they faced "transportation problems." There are substantial differences in how these barriers impact subgroups of the voting population. As shown in Table 1, only 6% of the oldest voters (65 and older) said that "conflicting schedules" were a reason that they did not vote, compared to 35.4% of voters aged 25 to 44. Younger voters (18 to 24) were most impacted by an "inconvenient polling place," over three times as much as the oldest voters.²³ Other obstacles to voting that can reduce turnout are waiting in long lines to vote and less accessible voting locations that require longer travel distances and have limited parking.²⁴

²² <https://ccepsitingtool.github.io/methodology.html>

²³ All data from the 2018 Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration Supplement, Table 10, <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/voting-and-registration/p20-583.html>, accessed February 26, 2020.

²⁴ Stein, Robert M, and Greg Vonnahme. 2008. "Engaging the Unengaged Voter: Vote Centers and Voter Turnout." *The Journal of Politics* 70(02): 487–97.

Table 1: Reasons for Not Voting, 2018 CPS

	Too Busy, Conflicting Schedule	Transportation Problems	Inconvenient Polling Place
Overall	26.9	2.9	3.3
18 to 24 years	31.0	1.1	4.3
25 to 44 years	35.4	2.0	3.5
45 to 64 years	25.3	3.1	3.7
65 years and over	6.0	6.3	1.2

26. Research also shows that greater distance between voters and polling places, which can result from precinct consolidation, can negatively impact voter turnout. In a study of three Maryland counties, Gimpel and Schuknecht (2003), looked at the impact of distance and of other impediments (such as speed limits, traffic congestion, or topographical barriers) that stand in the way of getting from point A to point B on turnout in the 2000 presidential election. They found that the geographic accessibility of polling places has a significant and independent effect on the likelihood that individuals will vote: “even after controlling for variables that account for the motivation, information and resource levels of local precinct populations, we find that accessibility does make a significant difference to turnout.”²⁵ Haspel and Knotts (2005) followed a similar approach to Gimpel and Schuckecht, and studied whether the distance from an individual voter’s residence to a polling location affected turnout in the 2001 Atlanta mayoral election. Haspel and Knotts report that voting is sensitive to distance to the polling place, particularly for citizens who

²⁵ Gimpel, J G, and J E Schuknecht. 2003. “Political Participation and the Accessibility of the Ballot Box.” *Political Geography* 22(5): 471–88.

do not have access to a car. They find “small differences in distance from the polls can have a significant impact on voter turnout.”²⁶ They report that a change from the minimum distance of .01 mile to the median distance of .69 of a mile results in a 25% drop in the probability of voting among those without access to a vehicle. For voters with access to cars, the effect is smaller but still significant – a drop of 5% in the probability of voting. (2005, p. 568)

27. Brady and McNulty studied precinct consolidation in Los Angeles County in 2003 and confirm these past findings about distance and the negative impact on turnout: “[t]he change in polling place location has two effects: a transportation effect resulting from the change in distance to the polling place and a search effect resulting from the information required to find a new polling place”.²⁷ Brady and McNulty find that an increase of just .4 miles in the distance to polling places reduce the probability of polling place voting by 4% (p. 124).
28. The uniform hours requirement for early in-person voting locations that is currently in place in North Carolina will only make it more difficult for election administrators to operate the additional in-person voting locations needed to meet voter demand. The standard hours law removes the ability of local boards to open any early voting location for fewer than 12 hours on weekday and removes the ability of local boards to open any early voting location on some, but not all, weekdays during the early voting period. The impact of the law is to increase the costs of operating each additional early voting location, compared to what additional locations would cost to operate in prior

²⁶ Haspel, Moshe, and H Gibbs Knotts. 2005. “Location, Location, Location: Precinct Placement and the Costs of Voting.” *Journal of Politics* 67(2): 560–73.

²⁷ Pg. 116 of Brady, Henry E., and John E. McNulty. 2011. “Turning Out to Vote: The Costs of Finding and Getting to the Polling Place.” *American Political Science Review* 105(01): 115–34.

elections, when such restrictions were not in place. In prior years, a local board may judge that shorter operating hours and days in some locations were sufficient to serve the voters in their county. Under the uniform hours law, county boards have little flexibility if they wish to open additional locations. The consequence is that many counties chose to reduce the number of in-person locations for early voting, increased the distance that many voters had to travel, and in all likelihood, increased lines and reduced turnout.

29. A comparison of the 2014 midterm election and 2018 midterm election in North Carolina (the first general election under the standard hours requirement) shows that counties decreased access to early voting in several significant ways. First, 42 counties reduced the number of satellite early voting locations in 2018 compared to 2014, and only 9 counties increased the number of early voting locations. Second, more counties chose not to offer any satellite early voting sites at all and instead conducted all early voting at the county board of elections office. In 2014, 77 of 100 North Carolina counties offered more than the mandated single early voting location. In 2018, a higher turnout election, only 65 of 100 counties offered more than the mandated single early voting location. Third, counties reduced access to early voting on the weekend; 47 counties reduced the number of weekend days in comparison to 2014 and 65 counties reduced total weekend voting hours. These reductions occurred even though there were more weekend days available for counties to use for early voting in 2018 than in 2014.²⁸
30. Finally, election administrators will need to staff polling places with

²⁸ Calculations made by the author, based on One-Stop Voting Sites for the 2018 and 2014 elections, downloaded from the North Carolina Board of Elections FTP site, https://dl.ncsbe.gov/?prefix=One-Stop_Early_Voting/.

temporary poll workers. Poll workers require legal and procedural training, and poorly trained poll workers can negatively impact the trust and confidence that voters have in election outcomes.²⁹

31. During the 2016 election, the Election Assistance Commission (EAC) reported that 917,694 poll workers were needed nationwide. Nearly 65% of jurisdictions reported that it was either “very difficult” or “somewhat difficult” to obtain sufficient poll workers. The poll worker population skews toward older Americans – of the jurisdictions that reported to the EAC, 54% of poll workers were older than 60, and 58.3% of North Carolina’s poll workers were over 60, 24% of poll workers nationwide and 23.1% of North Carolina poll workers were over 70.³⁰ Between one-quarter and half of the poll worker workforce are squarely in a high-risk category for risk from COVID-19 solely due to age, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention,³¹ and many of these individuals have expressed an unwillingness to serve as a poll worker under current conditions.³²
32. Karen Brinson Bell, The Executive Director of the North Carolina Board of Elections, wrote on April 22, 2020 that the procurement process for supplies and training materials needed to have begun

²⁹ Bridgett A. King, 2019, “Descriptive Representation in Election Administration: Poll Workers and Voter Confidence.” *Election Law Journal* 18(1): 16-30; Thad Hall, J. Quin Monson, and Kelly D. Patterson, 2007, “Poll workers and the vitality of democracy: An early assessment.” *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 40(4): 647-654.

³⁰ Election Assistance Commission, November 15, 2017, “EAVS Deep Dive: Poll Workers and Polling Places.” <https://www.eac.gov/documents/2017/11/15/eavs-deep-dive-poll-workers-and-polling-places>. Accessed May 25, 2020.

³¹ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, “People Who Are At Higher Risk for Severe Illness.” <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/need-extra-precautions/people-at-higher-risk.html>. Accessed June 1, 2020.

³² Amy Gardner and Elise Viebeck. March 15, 2020. “Intensifying coronavirus fears rattle voters and elections officials in advance of Tuesday primary.” *Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/intensifying-coronavirus-fears-rattle-voters-and-elections-officials-in-advance-of-tuesday-primaries/2020/03/15/426c8762-66d3-11ea-abef-020f086a3fab_story.html. Accessed May 26, 2020.

immediately, and that many of the orders for preparing November general election materials need to be finalized by June 15.³³ This accords with deadlines identified by the Brennan Center for Justice on May 11, 2020, which stated that critical purchasing and planning decisions for a safe November elections needed to be made “in a matter of weeks.”³⁴

33. In addition to precinct consolidation, in light of SB 683’s prohibitions on assistance,³⁵ many voters who would like to vote by mail in order to protect themselves from infection from Covid-19 may be forced to vote in-person, thus further increasing the need for adequate numbers of in-person voting sites.
34. In summary, COVID-19 will require North Carolina election administrators to prepare for safe in-person voting in November. Existing polling places will require sanitizing measures and other protections. Administrators will need to either identify additional polling locations or select new locations to consolidate precincts. Local administrators will need to search more broadly for poll workers among younger segments of the population. These adjustments will take time, planning, and resources.

B. Voting By Mail

35. The Executive Director of the North Carolina Board of Elections projects a seven- to ten-fold increase in demand for vote by mail ballots in the state as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic.³⁶ The

³³ Letter from Executive Director Karen Brinson Bell, NC State Board of Elections, to Governor Roy Cooper and the General Assembly, dated April 22, 2020, provided to this expert.

³⁴ Edgardo Cortes et al., May 11, 2020, “Preparing for Election Day: Deadlines for Running a Safe Election.” Brennan Center for Justice. <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/preparing-election-day-deadlines-running-safe-election>. Accessed June 2, 2020.

³⁵ N.C.G.S. 163-230.2

³⁶ Letter from Executive Director Karen Brinson Bell, NC State Board of Elections, to Governor Roy Cooper and the General Assembly, dated April 22, 2020, provided to this expert.

current election system as configured is unable to handle a dramatic increase in the demand for mail ballots. Steps that need to be taken include securing vendor relationships to print sufficient numbers of ballots, envelopes, and other materials; coordinating with local United States Postal Service operations to assure secure delivery and return of election materials; providing accessible options for voters who require assistive technology; obtaining ballot processing, sorting, and verification equipment; and developing and training appropriate staff in signature verification and other ballot handling procedures. Secure and accessible ballot drop off locations need to be identified.³⁷

36. Optimally, according to the National Vote at Home Institute, steps needed to implement and expand mail voting options should have begun in April to prepare for the November 2020 election.³⁸ Many other legal and administrative decisions ideally would be made in June, 2020, according to the Election Assistance Commission's Vote by Mail Project Timeline.³⁹
37. One point of law that will further overextend the North Carolina Board of Election's capacity to deal with an increased inflow of absentee ballots is the lack of any curing process for rejected absentee ballots.⁴⁰ Providing an option for voters to "cure" a ballot that arrives with a missing or unverifiable signature is recommended as a best practice by the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency (CISA) Elections Infrastructure Government Coordinating Council's Joint

³⁷ Election Assistance Commission. "Voting by Mail / Absentee Voting." <https://www.eac.gov/election-officials/voting-by-mail-absentee-voting>. Accessed May 25, 2020.

³⁸ Vote At Home Institute, March 2020, "Vote at home scale plan." https://www.voteathome.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/VAHScale_StrategyPlan.pdf, accessed May 25, 2020.

³⁹ Election Assistance Commission, "Vote by Mail / Absentee Voting Timeline." <https://www.eac.gov/sites/default/files/electionofficials/vbm/VBMProjectTimeline.pdf>. Accessed May 25, 2020.

⁴⁰ See Figure 5 for information on the percentage of ballots North Carolina rejected from 2014-2018

COVID Working Group⁴¹ and the Center for Civic Design.⁴² Escambia County, Florida reported a 70% drop in rejected ballots in the 2016 election, compared to the 2012 election, after a cure process was put in place for missing signatures.⁴³ If county boards have to resend absentee ballots to voters who incorrectly executed their absentee ballots, it will add more pressure on the county board's ability to efficiently and effectively execute a robust vote-by-mail program.

38. Finally, it remains unclear how it is possible to honor the two-witness requirement in North Carolina given the requirements for social distancing. Only 12 states currently have a witness requirement, and only three have a two-witness requirement.⁴⁴ Two of those twelve states—Virginia and South Carolina—have changed their witness requirements for casting an absentee ballot in the June Primary, in light of Covid-19.⁴⁵

C. Evidence From Administering Recent Elections

39. At the time of the submission of this report, sixteen states have chosen to postpone scheduled primaries or caucuses or have chosen to conduct an all-mail primary in response to the pandemic.⁴⁶ The recent

⁴¹ CISA #PROTECT2020 Resource page is available at <https://www.cisa.gov/protect2020>, and the document recommending signature curing is

https://www.eac.gov/sites/default/files/electionofficials/vbm/Signature_Verification_Cure_Process.pdf.

⁴² Center for Civic Design, "Voting from Home: Scaling Up in 2020." <https://civicdesign.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/CCD-Guide-to-mail-voting-4-10.pdf>. Accessed June 3, 2020.

⁴³ Center for Civic Design, "Counting more absentee ballots in Escambia County, Florida." <https://civicdesign.org/showcase/counting-more-absentee-ballots-in-escambia-county-florida/>. Accessed June 3, 2020.

⁴⁴ National Conference of State Legislatures, 1/21/2020, "Verification of Absentee Ballots," <https://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/verification-of-absentee-ballots.aspx>. Accessed June 2, 2020.

⁴⁵ Absentee Ballot Requirements, Virginia State Board of Elections, <https://www.elections.virginia.gov/casting-a-ballot/absentee-voting/>. Accessed June 2, 2020; *Thomas v. Andino*, --- F.Supp.3d ---- (D.S.C. 2020).

⁴⁶ Nick Corasaniti and Stephanie Saul, May 22, 2020, "16 states have postponed primaries during the pandemic. Here's the list." *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/article/2020-campaign-primary-calendar-coronavirus.html>. Accessed May 22, 2020.

experience of one state, Wisconsin, provides predictive evidence of how COVID-19 will impact North Carolina in November 2020, and the appropriate actions that the state will need to make to administer a safe, secure, and accessible election. Like North Carolina, Wisconsin is a “mostly polling place” state, with less than five percent of its ballots cast by mail in 2018, even though the state requires no excuse for casting an absentee ballot.

40. Wisconsin chose to hold an in-person primary on April 7, 2020. Wisconsin is the best available example of the kinds of adjustments that election administrators will have to make to prepare for in-person voting during the pandemic, and how a short timeline and limited resources may create long lines and restrict access to the polls.

41. The Wisconsin Elections Commission (WEC) recognized the challenges the pandemic posed to the primary. In a March 18, 2020, update to the WEC⁴⁷, the commission’s administrator reported:

“The lack of available hand sanitizer and other sanitation products has emerged as one of the key concerns of clerks and election inspectors, a large percentage of whom are in the age range of higher vulnerability.”

“Commission staff has advised clerks to implement any contingency plan they have regarding alternative polling locations in case of an emergency. When considering alternatives, clerks should attempt to find locations that are accessible to individuals with disabilities and large enough to serve their community while practicing as much social distancing as possible.”

42. The impact of these challenges on in-person voting became evident during early in-person and Election Day voting.

⁴⁷ Meagan Wolfe, March 18, 2020, “Update Regarding COVID-19 Election Planning.” Memo written to the Wisconsin Election Commission. Accessed at https://elections.wi.gov/sites/elections.wi.gov/files/2020-03/Com_._%20memo%20re%20COVID-19%20Election%20Planning%203.18.20.pdf

43. The first impact of COVID-19 in the Wisconsin primary was the reduction of sites for early in-person and Election Day voting. A number of local jurisdictions in Wisconsin were forced to severely limit or close all in-person early voting locations because of inadequate staffing and insufficient supplies of personal protective equipment for election workers and voters.⁴⁸ The City of Milwaukee, which normally provides 180 Election Day polling locations, provided only 5 in the April 7, 2020, primary.
44. The reduction was highly uneven in the metropolitan area, as shown on the map in Figure 5.⁴⁹ In wealthier, whiter suburban areas, there were limited reductions. But in the lower-income, heavily African-American urban core, only five in-person locations were available on Election Day. Similarly, the City of Green Bay offered only 2 polling locations instead of the normal 31.

⁴⁸ Laurel White, March 23, 2020, "Election Officials Across Wisconsin Eliminate, Scale Back In-Person Early Voting," Wisconsin Public Radio. <https://www.wpr.org/election-officials-across-wisconsin-eliminate-scale-back-person-early-voting> Accessed May 20, 2020.

⁴⁹ Source: John A. Curiel, Research Scientist, MIT Elections Data and Science Lab. Healthy Elections Project data repository, https://github.com/MEDSL/healthy_elections/tree/master/WI, accessed May 25, 2020.

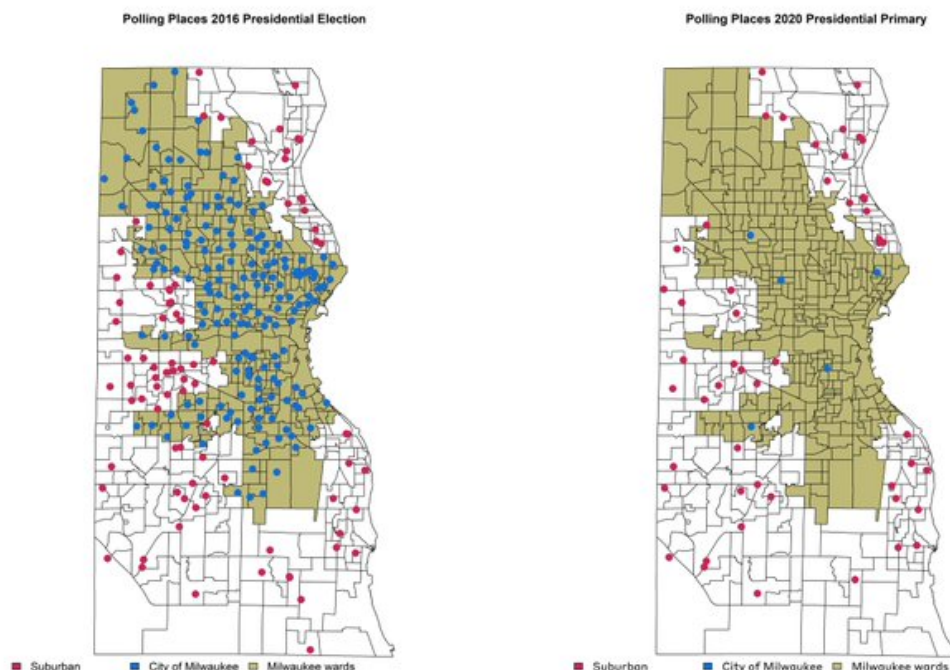


Figure 5: Election Day Polling Locations in Milwaukee, WI in the 2016 and 2020 Presidential Primaries (City of Milwaukee boundaries colored in green; polling locations in red [suburban] and blue [city].)

45. On June 2, 2020, Pennsylvania had its primary and many counties and cities had to consolidate their polling places. Philadelphia cut its polling places by more than 60%, to 190 polling places, down from 831 polling places that they had in the November 2019 Municipal Election.⁵⁰ Many officials in the state describe encountered difficulties in finding alternative polling locations because of “restrictions on large public venues that have historically served as

⁵⁰ Michael Tanenbaum, May 13, 2020, “Philly plans sharp reduction of polling places for June 2 primary election” Philly Voice. <https://www.phillyvoice.com/philly-polling-places-primary-election-june-2-2020-poll-workers-mail-in-absentee-ballot/>. Accessed June 3, 2020.

polling places, such as schools, libraries, and municipal buildings.”⁵¹

46. The second impact of COVID-19 was the increase in lines. As a consequence of the reduction of locations, there were excessively long lines at some of the remaining locations where reductions had occurred. Voters waited two to three hours to cast a ballot in Milwaukee, Green Bay, and in other locations.⁵²
47. The third impact of COVID-19 was the increase in the number of absentee ballots requests by over 500 percent. There were 1,303,985 absentee ballots requested for the April 7, 2020 primary and 1,159,800 absentee ballots were returned and counted.⁵³ It was a 5:1 ratio of mail-in to in-person absentee ballots. In the April 2016 primary, 247,052 absentee ballots were requested and 212,832 were returned and counted.⁵⁴ The number of requests represented a 527% increase when compared to the April 2016 primary. The percentage of absentee ballots cast by mail in the 2016 primary was 8.1% of the total ballots cast, and the percentage of absentee ballots cast by mail in the 2020 primary was an unprecedented 61.8% of all ballots cast.⁵⁵
48. It is important to note that even under the April 7, 2020, conditions of the pandemic, with an essentially uncontested presidential primary

⁵¹ Ivey De-Jesus. April 28, 2020. “As counties look to consolidate polling places, advocates worry about voter disenfranchisement.” *Harrisburg Patriot-News / Penn-Live*. <https://www.pennlive.com/coronavirus/2020/04/as-counties-look-to-consolidate-polling-places-advocates-worry-about-voter-disenfranchisement.html>
Accessed May 20, 2020.

⁵² New York Times, April 7, 2020, “Wisconsin Primary Recap: Voters Forced To Choose Between Their Health and Their Civic Duty.” <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/07/us/politics/wisconsin-primary-election.html>
Accessed May 20, 2020.

⁵³ Wisconsin Elections Commission, Absentee Ballot Report. May 15, 2020. “April 7, 2020 Absentee Voting Report.” <https://elections.wi.gov/sites/elections.wi.gov/files/2020-05/April%202020%20Absentee%20Voting%20Report.pdf>

⁵⁴ 2016 totals calculated by the author from the Wisconsin Board of Elections “2016 Presidential Preference and Spring Election GAB-190F: Election Voting and Registration Statistics Report”, downloaded from <https://elections.wi.gov/publications/statistics/gab-190/2016-spring-election-presidential-primary>

⁵⁵ Wisconsin Elections Commission, Pg. 6, <https://elections.wi.gov/sites/elections.wi.gov/files/2020-05/April%202020%20Absentee%20Voting%20Report.pdf>

and a competitive State Supreme Court race, over 25% of Wisconsin voters chose to vote in person on Election Day and 12.6% chose to cast an in-person absentee ballot, as shown in Figure 6.⁵⁶ Even with a pandemic in full force, over 37% of Wisconsin's voters still opted to cast an in-person ballot. This provides predictive evidence that a substantial portion of North Carolina's voters will want to cast an in-person ballot in the November 3, 2020 general election given the similarities between the two states and the number of people who vote in-person.

Table 4.

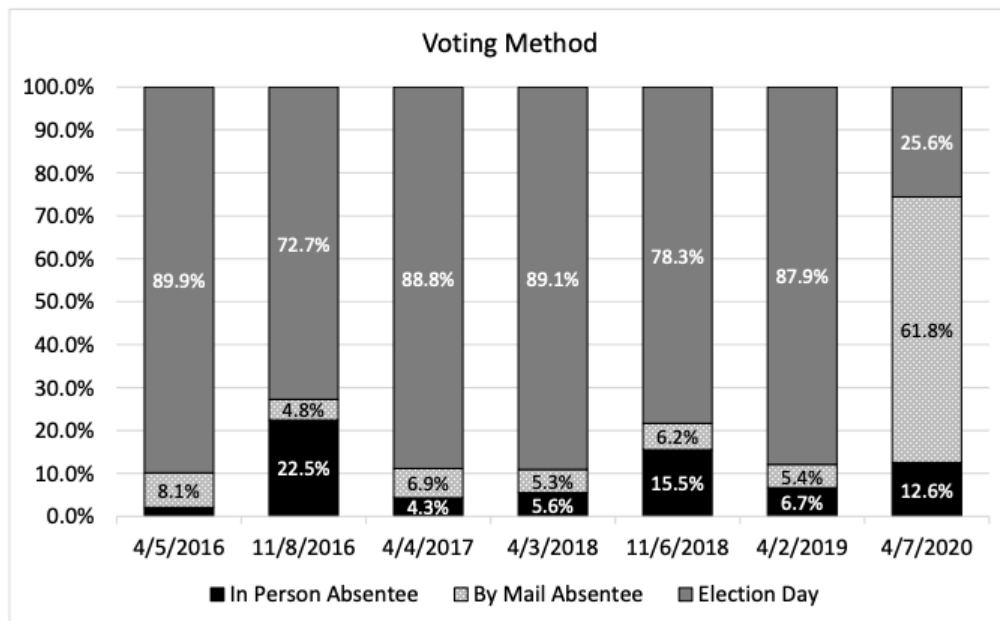


Figure 6: Comparison of Voting Methods in Wisconsin, April 2016-April 2020

⁵⁶ Wisconsin Elections Commission, May 15, 2020. "April 7, 2020 Absentee Voting Report #3.", pg. 6, <https://elections.wi.gov/sites/elections.wi.gov/files/2020-05/April%202020%20Absentee%20Voting%20Report.pdf>

49. Elections officials in Florida,⁵⁷ Ohio,⁵⁸ South Carolina,⁵⁹ and multiple other states have reported difficulties finding sufficient poll workers, having poll workers drop out, and facing other challenges in preparing to conduct elections during the pandemic.⁶⁰ Several thousand absentee ballots never made it to Wisconsin voters.⁶¹ Other states have had the same experience. During the April 28th primary in Ohio, one estimate is that “thousands” of Ohioans never got their ballots by the April 28th deadline.⁶² The June 2nd primary in the District of Columbia resulted in long lines due to a reduction in polling places. One-third of those voters who were interviewed said they had to vote in-person because their absentee ballots did not arrive in time.⁶³
50. The experiences of Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and other states provide evidence that North Carolina will want to prepare as soon as possible and provide flexibility in selecting alternative voting locations and in recruiting poll workers for the November 3, 2020, election. The state should also expand the options for requesting absentee ballots beyond

⁵⁷ Andrew O'Reilly. March 12, 2020. “Coronavirus fears cause poll worker dropouts, safety concerns ahead of Florida primary”. Fox News. <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/coronavirus-poll-worker-florida> Accessed May 25, 2020.

⁵⁸ Julia Harte, March 13, 2020, “Exclusive: Fewer poll workers, coronavirus, spark fears of election day woes in Ohio Democratic primary”, Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-ohio-exclusive/exclusive-fewer-poll-workers-coronavirus-spark-fears-of-election-day-woes-in-ohio-democratic-primary-idUSKBN210328>. Accessed May 26, 2020.

⁵⁹ Bristow Marchant, April 29, 2020, “Richland County is losing hundreds of June primary poll workers to coronavirus fears,” *The State* <https://www.thestate.com/news/politics-government/election/article242381961.html>

⁶⁰ Pam Fessler, March 2, 2020, “Coronavirus and Super Tuesday Voting: It’s Touchy.” National Public Radio, <https://www.npr.org/2020/03/02/811323562/coronavirus-and-super-tuesday-voting-its-touchy>, Accessed May 26, 2020.

⁶¹ Nick Corasaniti and Stephanie Saul, April 9, 2020, “Inside Wisconsin’s Election Mess: Thousands of Missing or Nullified Ballots.” *New York Times* <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/09/us/politics/wisconsin-election-absentee-coronavirus.html>. Accessed June 2, 2020.

⁶² Darrel Rowland and Rick Rouan. April 28, 2020. “After a problem-plagued primary, Ohio leaders disagree about a November election plan.” *Columbus Dispatch*. <https://www.dispatch.com/news/20200428/after-problem-plagued-primary-ohio-leaders-disagree-about-november-election-plan>. Accessed June 3, 2020.

⁶³ Julie Sauzmer and Genir Nirappit. June 3, 2020. “Bowser ally Brandon Todd loses D.C. Council primary to left-leaning challenger; Evans far behind in Ward 2 race.” *Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/dc-politics/tuesday-is-election-day-in-dc-though-much-of-the-voting-has-already-happened/2020/06/01/f9738568-a437-11ea-b619-3f9133bbb482_story.html. Accessed June 3, 2020.

a mail-only option in order to reduce pressure on early in-person and Election Day polling places. Additionally, the uniform hours requirement for early in-person satellite locations should also be lifted so as to provide more flexibility for county boards in securing locations and offering early voting options to their residents. Additionally, the state should relax the requirement that a majority of poll workers live in a precinct so as to expand the recruitment pool.

III. The Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic On North Carolina's 2020 General Election

A. The Pandemic's Effect on Voter Preferences

51. The pandemic will likely cause a substantial increase in voting by mail in North Carolina. At the same time, due to historical voting patterns within the State, a significant number of North Carolina voters will continue to vote in person.
52. An April 2020 poll conducted by the Pew Research Center reported that two-thirds of Americans expect some disruption of the November 2020 election due to the pandemic. Seventy percent of the respondents favor allowing any voter to vote by mail if the voters wants to.⁶⁴
53. A May 2020 national poll conducted by a university consortium found that 60% of respondents supported making voting by mail easier, and 36% said that they would be more likely to vote if they had the option to vote by mail. However, 44% of respondents under 25 said they were not confident that they understood the process of voting by mail, and 40% of respondents aged 25 to 44 also said they were not confident

⁶⁴ Carroll Doherty, Jocelyn Kiley, and Nida Ascher. April, 2020. "Two-Thirds of Americans Expect Presidential Election Will Be Disrupted by COVID-19." Report of the Pew Research Center, Washington DC. <https://www.people-press.org/2020/04/28/two-thirds-of-americans-expect-presidential-election-will-be-disrupted-by-covid-19/>.

about the mail voting process.⁶⁵ This survey also indicates that a significant number of respondents will vote as they always have, using the in-person method.

54. Evidence from the Wisconsin primary and other recent primaries shows that while there is likely to be a dramatic surge in requests for absentee ballots in November, particularly in a state like North Carolina that does not require an excuse. But, there will also be substantial numbers of voters who will continue to want to cast a ballot in-person, either early or on Election Day.
55. As noted above, because of the increase in the number of absentee ballot requests in Wisconsin, many voters never received their absentee ballots by election day despite timely requesting them.⁶⁶ Absentee ballots arriving late, or not arriving at all, had been an issue for UOCAVA voters for many years, as the Pew Center on the States documented in the “No Time To Vote” report, and the Federal Write-In Ballot⁶⁷ serves as a fail-safe option for these voters.⁶⁸ The Federal Write-In Ballot is already familiar to election officials. Therefore, it will be important for North Carolina to offer a fail-safe option for voting such as the Federal Write-In Ballot if the State’s capacity to execute a more robust mail-in voting program falters.
56. Research shows that voters habituate to a particular way of voting due to “behavioral repetition.”⁶⁹ Even though convenience voting

⁶⁵ Covidstates.org. May 22, 2020, “The State of the Nation: A 50-State COVID-19 Survey: Report 3 .”

⁶⁶ Carrie Levine, *Ohio’s Mail-in Ballot Brouhaha: A Sign of Coming Trouble?* The Ctr. For Public Integrity (Apr. 28, 2020), <https://publicintegrity.org/politics/elections/ohios-mail-in-ballot-brouhaha-a-sign-of-coming-trouble/> (mentioning Wisconsin’s absentee voting issues)

⁶⁷ 52 U.S.C. § 20303

⁶⁸ Pew Center on the State, January 2009, “No Time To Vote: Challenges Facing America’s Overseas Military Voters.” Washington, DC: Pew Center on the States.

⁶⁹ John Aldrich et al, 2011, “Turnout as a habit,” *Political Behavior* 33: 535-563.

methods (early in-person, no-excuse absentee) have expanded across the country, millions of citizens continue to vote on Election Day due to this habituation.⁷⁰ As shown in Figure 4 above, approximately half of North Carolina voters continued to vote on Election Day in 2018.

B. Challenges in Ensuring a Safe Election in North Carolina

57. Seven county boards in North Carolina have already obtained approval for precinct consolidations for the June 23, 2020, primary and one additional county request is pending. Consolidations were requested because locations that were previously used are now inaccessible; in order to assure sufficient space for social distancing; in order to assure poll worker safety; and to adjust to the lower demand for Election Day voting. Forty-six polling places have been eliminated through consolidation, and another 18 are pending elimination.⁷¹ Counties will need to begin this process as soon as possible so that voters understand their newly assigned polling places. If this process is not started early enough, as shown in prior research, consolidation can adversely impact some voters and lower voter turnout.
58. County boards will also need sufficient time to be able to recruit poll workers. Statewide, as shown in Figure 7, 58.3% of poll workers in North Carolina in the 2016 election were over 61, with substantial variation across counties. 23.1% of poll workers were 71 or older in the state, as shown in Figure 8. The experience of other states conducting primaries indicates that a substantial number of these

⁷⁰ Brian Amos, Daniel Smith, and Casey Ste. Claire.2016. "Reprecincting and Voting Behavior." *Political Behavior* 39: 133-156.

⁷¹ The counties are Buncombe, Jackson, Macon, Madison, Mitchell, Transylvania, and Yancey. Haywood County request is pending as the time of this writing. Source: NC Board of Elections, https://dl.ncsbe.gov/index.html?prefix=Public_Records_Requests/June%2023%20Second%20Primary_temporary_precinct_transfers

workers may decline to work on Election Day.

Poll Workers Aged 61 and Older in North Carolina in the 2016 Election, by County
Source: Election Administration and Voting Survey

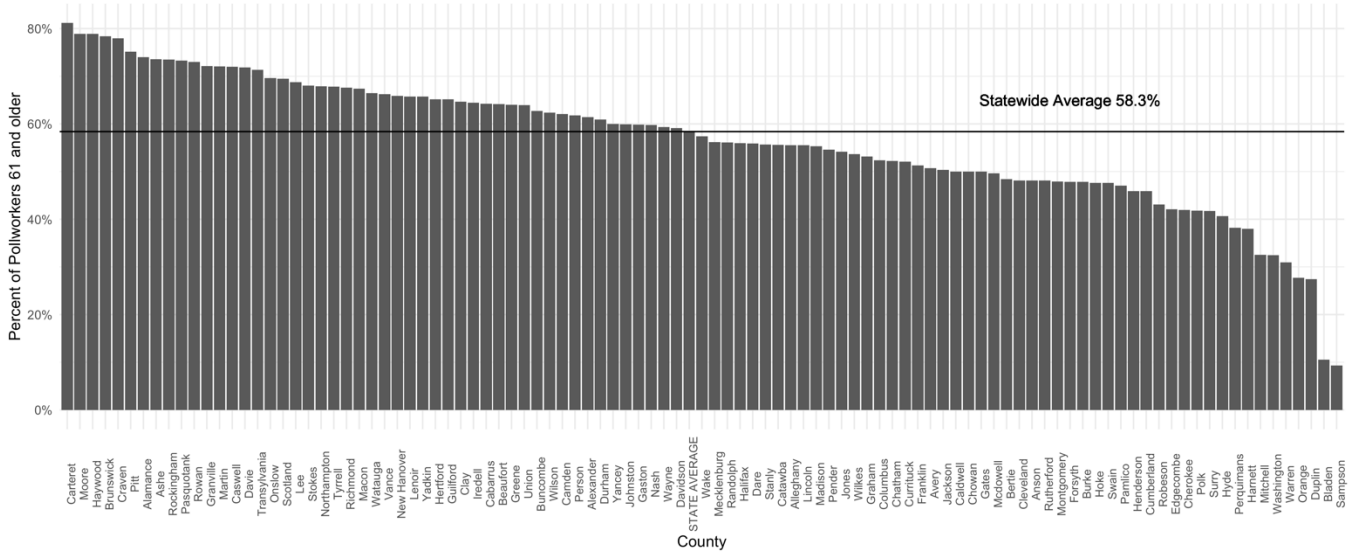


Figure 7: Poll workers Over 61 in North Carolina in 2016.

Poll Workers Aged 71 and Older in North Carolina in the 2016 Election, by County
Source: Election Administration and Voting Survey

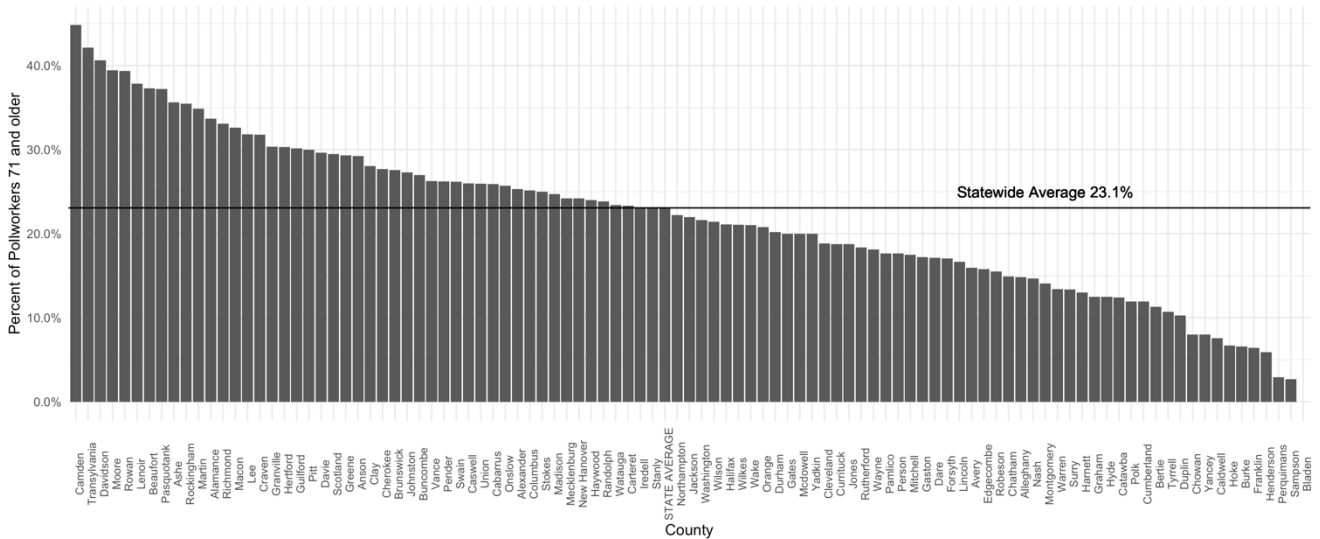


Figure 8: Poll workers over 71 in North Carolina in 2016

59. Recruitment of replacement workers will be difficult across the state, but particularly in counties that fall on the left hand side of Figure 7 and Figure 8 because of the requirement that a majority of the poll

workers resides in the precinct where they wish to serve.⁷² North Carolina is one of only eleven states that place precinct residency restrictions on poll workers, and six of the eleven states that retain these restrictions conduct elections at the township or municipality level.⁷³ Only five states that conduct elections at the county level, like North Carolina, place precinct residency restrictions on poll workers.⁷⁴

60. **Recommendations**

County boards should immediately identify sufficient in-person voting locations for early voting and precinct place voting, and require this information publicly at the earliest possible instance. The uniform hours requirement for satellite early in-person voting locations should also be suspended, so that County Boards can provide more in-person voting locations. The requirement that a majority of Election Day poll workers reside within an election precinct is also unnecessarily burdensome and is a requirement in very few states. If were relaxed, it will allow County boards more latitude to recruit sufficient Election Day poll workers to staff precinct place voting locations. Additionally, the state should allow for electronic requests of absentee ballots, suspend the requirement for two witness signatures on the returned ballot materials, and develop a fail-safe absentee voting method or allow all eligible voters to use the Federal Write-In Absentee Ballot, as a way to meet the demand for by-mail balloting and accommodate those citizens who feel unsafe at in-person voting. Finally, each county board should have sufficient time and resources to implement

⁷² Source: North Carolina Board of Elections <https://www.ncsbe.gov/get-involved> and NC Revised Statutes 163-41.

⁷³ John Aldrich et al, 2011, "Turnout as a habit," *Political Behavior* 33: 535-563.

⁷⁴ Totals were calculated by the author from the Federal Election Assistance Commission, May 2016, "State by State Compendium: Election Worker Laws and Statutes." https://www.eac.gov/sites/default/files/eac_assets/1/28/Compendium.2016.pdf, accessed June 2, 2020.

these changes.


VI. Conclusion

61. The COVID-19 pandemic has impacted nearly every aspect of American life, and elections are no exception. Elections and election administration are, in fact, traditionally a high-touch, face-to-face process. Even with the increased adoption of convenience voting methods by the states, millions of Americans continue to opt to vote in person on Election Day. Numerous expert commissions recommend that states prepare for a dramatic increase in mail voting in November 2020, but also maintain sufficient access to in-person voting.
62. My expert evaluation of the evidence is that North Carolina is likely to experience a substantial increase in the use of mail balloting in the November 3, 2020, election, but the state's election administration system is currently designed around in-person voting and citizens are habituated to that method. Many will continue to vote in person in November.
63. County boards must begin to prepare immediately to assure a safe, secure, and accessible election. Early in-person voting should be maintained and where possible increased, by suspending the uniform hours requirement. Precinct consolidations, if necessary, must be done with care, using the best tools available to assure that consolidation is done fairly and equitably, without respect to age, race, income, disability, or other status. Consolidations must be completed and announced in enough time so that election officials, candidates, political parties, and other organizations can communicate this information to voters.
64. County boards should not be constrained to precinct residents when

recruiting poll workers during this election. The typical poll worker is over 60 years old, with nearly a quarter over 70. In a number of counties, more an three-quarters of their poll workers were over 61 in 2016. Artificial barriers to poll worker recruitment should be removed for this election.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed this 4th day of June, 2020.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Paul Gronke". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Paul" being more legible than the last name "Gronke".

Dr. Paul Gronke

Paul Gronke

3203 SE Woodstock, Blvd., Eliot 424
Portland, OR 97202
(503) 517-7393
gronke@reed.edu

EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN <i>Doctor of Philosophy, Political Science</i>	Ann Arbor, MI December 1993
UNIVERSITY OF ESSEX <i>Master of Arts, Western European Politics</i>	Essex, UK June 1984
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO <i>Bachelor of Arts, Political Science, with honors</i>	Chicago, IL June 1982

EMPLOYMENT

REED COLLEGE <i>Professor of Political Science</i>	Portland, OR January 2001 – Present
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- Teach introductory and upper-level classes focusing on American politics, including elections, political behavior, political institutions and political research methods.
- Publish peer-reviewed articles, book chapters, and research reports.
- Research support from foundations, contracts, consultancies and internal competitive grants.
- Granted tenure in 2004; promoted to full professor in 2008.

APPALACHIAN STATE UNIVERSITY <i>Daniel B. German Endowed Visiting Professor of Political Science</i>	Boone, NC August 2014-May 2016
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- Inaugural holder of endowed visiting professorship.
- Teach research courses on elections, elections research, U.S. Congress, research methods.
- Lead departmental symposia and sponsor visiting lectures.

THE DEMOCRACY FUND <i>Strategic Consultant, Elections Program</i>	Washington, DC September 2015 – ongoing
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- Engaged in systems mapping and strategic planning for multiyear grant making and research initiative.
- Provide scientific and methodological evaluations of grantee requests and report.
- Connect the program to a network of academics with interests in election administration and reform.

PEW CHARITABLE TRUSTS <i>Consultant, Elections Initiatives of the Pew Center on the States</i>	Washington, DC September 2007 – November 2011
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- Provided empirical analysis and write reports for ongoing projects pertaining to election integrity and equity.
- Consulted on strategic initiatives, review grant proposals, provide methodological and substantive quality control review.
- Helped organize gatherings and conferences, manage inquiries from media and other stakeholders.

DUKE UNIVERSITY <i>Assistant Professor of Political Science</i>	Durham, NC September 1991 – December 2000
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- Taught undergraduate and graduate classes focusing on American politics, including public opinion, legislative behavior, political parties, and graduate statistical methods (first course). Received campus-wide teaching award in 1996.
- Published a university press book, peer-reviewed articles, and book chapters.

- Received research support from the National Science Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and internal grants.
- Instructor from September 1991-August 1993; Assistant Professor from September 1993-December 2000.

ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR

Reed College

Early Voting Information Center

2005-present

- Established a non-partisan center conducting research into and disseminating information about early in-person and absentee balloting.
- Manage public outreach, recruit and supervise 2-4 staff members (undergraduate and post-baccalaureate researchers), manage budgets, work to attract continuing external support.
- Raised more than \$750,000 in external support since 2005.

Co-EDITOR

Co-Editor, PS: Political Science and Politics

August 2014-present

- Appointed interim co-editor of flagship journal of the American Political Science Association, the world's largest scholarly society for political scientists.
- Tasked with modernizing content, determining new content delivery methods, engaging readership via social media, along with soliciting articles and conducting all other editorial duties.
- Helped to hire, train, and supervise a new managing editor.
- Reappointed by the APSA Council to a second four year term from 2018-2021.

EDITOR

Election Law Journal

2010-2017

- Responsible for reviewing incoming articles, hire and supervise an editorial assistant to assign reviewers and meet deadlines, and evaluating reviews and articles for acceptance or rejection.
- First social scientist chosen to co-edit the only peer-reviewed interdisciplinary journal covering election law, election administration, and election policy.
- Co-editor 2010-2013, primary editor 2014-present.

DEPARTMENT CHAIR

Reed College

Department of Political Science

2001-2004; 2005-2007; 2009-2010, 2012-2014

- Responsible for curricular planning, committee assignments, student progress toward degree, staff hiring and supervision, and other departmental governance for a five-member department and 30-40 majors (juniors and seniors).
- Successfully expanded faculty from 4 to 7 members; worked with department and college to update and reform department requirements and curriculum; doubled departmental majors and expanded class enrollments.
- Budgetary planning and management of a \$23,000 department budget and seven endowed funds with annual income exceeding \$70,000.
- With Economics Department, responsible for campus-wide student-faculty summer research program, 3-5 awards each summer.

DIRECTOR

Reed College

Public Policy Lecture Series

2001-2006, 2008-2011, 2012-14, Fall 2016

- Created a campus wide lecture series to bring nationally and internationally recognized speakers on domestic and international affairs to campus. Identify important areas of public and campus concern; identify potential speakers; and collaborate on public outreach.
- Empowered students by creating a student coordinating committee; continue to work with student committee to manage series; create student-run events with each speaker.

- Manage \$20,000 annual lecture series budget; hire and manage part-time lecture coordinator.

DIRECTOR

Reed College

Public Policy Workshop

2001-02, 2005-present

- Maintain a divisional student research and thesis writing workspace (6 workstations, group meeting space, computer projection).
- Responsible for hiring and supervising part-time facility manager, coordinating with divisional members to assure identifying new computational and statistical needs for students and faculty, and assuring continuing support from the College.

OTHER GOVERNANCE ACTIVITIES

Co-CHAIR

2017-2018

Ad Hoc Committee on Governance

- Lead an effort to improve faculty meetings, propose changes to faculty elections, evaluate the structure of the Dean's Office and reform major governance committees in order to reinvigorate faculty governance.
- Appointed by the President of the College.

MEMBER

Foundational Curriculum Working Group, Reed College Strategic Planning

2013-2014

- Responsible for analyzing materials, soliciting community feedback, and writing a working group report about Reed's first year curriculum as part of the College wide strategic planning process.
- Selected by Dean of the Faculty.

MEMBER

Dean of the College Search Committee, Reed College

2009-2010

- Responsible for working with President and committee to write a job description, identify candidates, evaluate nominations, and build consensus among the President, Committee on Advancement and Tenure, and the campus community to select a candidate.
- Selected as committee secretary.
- Chosen for membership by Committee on Advancement and Tenure and President of the College.

MEMBER

Committee on Academic Policy and Planning, Reed College

2006-2007

- Elected as a member of the primary faculty governance committee.
- Responsible for long-range strategic planning, reviewing major college curricular initiatives and monitoring ongoing curricular matters, overseeing and reviewing departmental self-evaluations, and allocating tenure track and visiting faculty positions.

MEMBER

Ad Hoc Committee on Environmental Studies, Reed College

2004-2006

- Responsible for evaluating the feasibility of a major new interdisciplinary program.
- Worked with external review committee to evaluate program proposal and review recommendations.
- Helped build campus consensus for a new program, which successfully passed faculty in 2008.

GRANTS, CONTRACTS, AND CONSULTANCIES

EXTERNAL COMPETITIVE GRANTS

National Science Foundation. Award #1727458 "Election Sciences Workshop." June 15, 2017-November 30, 2018.

Awarded in collaboration with Portland State University (#1727461). Total award: \$49,783.

Federal Voting Assistance Program. "Trend Analysis in UOCAVA Voting." September 2012-August 2013. \$90,000.

Pew Charitable Trusts. "Diagnosing Residual Voting: A Comprehensive Approach." October 2007-August 2009. \$137,000. With Kimball Brace and Charles Stewart.

Carnegie Foundation of New York. "Extending the Election Day Survey." June-December, 2006. \$17,000. (Matching funds from AEI/Brookings Election Reform Project: \$4000).

Mellon Foundation, Summer Faculty Research Grant, "The Early Voting Information Center." Summer 2005. \$8000.

Mellon Foundation: Summer Teaching Conference "Integrating Quantitative Methods in Social Science Classes." Summer 2005. \$12,000.

National Science Foundation Research Experiences for Undergraduates (REU) Program Award, \$5000, July 1999-June 2000.

National Science Foundation. "Consensus, Volatility, and Uncertainty in Presidential Approval." May 1, 1998-April 20, 2000. \$20,000.

"Governing a Volatile Public." Howard Foundation Fellowship (December, 1996). Awarded honorable mention.

Ford Foundation Course Development Grant, "The Internet and Political Participation," Spring 2000 (\$5000).

Ford Foundation Grants for Undergraduate Mentoring in Political Science (1998-2000, \$3000, with Carrie Liken; 1996-1998, \$3000, with Kelly Jade Davis)

CONSULTANT AND CONTRACT WORK

State of Oregon, Division of Elections, PO-16500-405. "Oregon Elections Performance Audit." \$50,000. With Dr. R. Michael Alvarez, California Institute of Technology.

The Democracy Fund, Elections Program. Scientific Consultant to the Elections Team. September 2015-ongoing.

Federal Voting Assistance Program. "Survey Validation Study Contract HHSP233201200040C." Subcontractor for SBG Technology Solutions. January-August 2013.

Pew Center on the States, Elections Initiatives. "WEVOTE: A Web-Based Early Voting Optimization Tool." Awarded to Reed College and EVIC. Oct. 2010-March 2011. \$84,000.

Maryland Department of Legislative Services. Maryland Voting Systems Study. Subcontractor to the Research Triangle Institute. August 2010-December 2010. \$6500.

Pew Center on the States, Election Initiatives. Academic Consultant and Policy Advisor. Awarded to the Reed Institute and EVIC. September 2009-August 2010. \$130,290.

State of Oregon, Division of Elections. Implementation of Redistricting Utilizing the Oregon Centralized Voter Registration System (RFP #165-1045-09). Paul Gronke and EVIC were academic consultants to the Gartrell Group, Inc. (Primary contractor). October 2009-June 2010. \$25,000.

Pew Charitable Trusts. Quality Control and Validation Process. Reed Institute and EVIC. June 2009-August 2009. \$36,900.

Pew Charitable Trusts. Consultant and Policy Advisor to the Elections Initiative of the Pew Center on the States. Awarded to the Reed Institute and the Early Voting Information Center. September 2007-August 2009. \$206,000.

Election Assistance Commission. The 2008 election administration and voting survey. EVIC was a subcontractor to the Research Triangle Institute. \$32,500.

Election Assistance Commission. The 2006 election administration and voting survey data." Contract No. 1406-04-07-PO-67699. May-September 2007. \$186,825 total award; subcontract to Paul Gronke/EVIC for \$40,000.

EXPERT WITNESS WORK

League of Women Voters vs. The State of North Carolina, Civil Action No. 1:13-CV-660, 2014-2015
Ohio State Conference of the NAACP, et al. vs. John Husted, et al., Case No. 2:14-cv-00404, Summer 2014
State of Florida vs. The United States of America et al. Civil Action No. 11-1428. Summer 2012.

INTERNAL COMPETITIVE GRANTS

Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. "The Noisy Reaction: How Reductions in Early Voting Opportunities Impacts Citizen Enfranchisement." With Jacob Canter, Summer 2013.

Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. "American Anti-Muslim Attitudes." With Rebecca Traber, Summer 2011.

Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. "The Data for Democracy Report." With Bailey Schreiber, Summer 2008 (\$10,000).

Michael and Carole Levine Foundation. "Early Voting Reforms in America." \$10,500. 2007-08.

Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. "Trust but Verify collaborative writing project." With Avery Ucker, Summer 2006 (\$10,000).

Michael Levine Fund for Faculty Research, \$8,000 (2003-4).

Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. "Voting Early, Voting Smart? America's Experience with Early Voting." With Peter Miller. Summer 2004 (\$10,000).

Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant: "Building a Cross-Sectional Time Series Dataset for Presidential Approval Research." With Joshua Simon. Summer 2003 (\$10,000).

Corbett-Goldhammer Summer Collaborative Research Grant. "Disdaining the News: Changing Public Attitudes Towards the News Media." With Aaron Rabirotff. Summer 2002 (\$9,000).

Stillman-Drake Summer Research Grant. "Presidential Honeymoons: A Motivational Approach." Summer 2001 (\$1,200).

Center for Instructional Technology Course Development Grant, Spring 2000. "The Internet, Public Policy, and Political Participation." \$2,000. Awarded for web based course development for a series of public policy and political science undergraduate courses.

Instrumentation Grant, 1998-9 (\$6000).

Arts and Sciences Research Council Grant, 1999-2000 (\$2,000), 1998-9 (\$2,000). 1997-8 (\$2,500). Additional Council grants awarded in 1994, 1995, 1996.

HONORS, AWARDS, AND FELLOWSHIPS

Daniel B. German Visiting Endowed Professorship, Department of Government and Justice Studies, Appalachian State University, 2014 and 2015 academic years.

Competitive Paid Leave Award, Reed College, Spring 2008 (leave for one semester)

Competitive Paid Leave Award, Reed College, Fall 2004 (leave for one semester)

Nominee, Eliza and Joan Gardner Howard Fellowship, 2003-4

Fellow, Joan Shorenstein Center for Press and Politics, Harvard University, Spring 2001 (declined)

Richard K. Lublin Distinguished Award for Teaching Excellence, 1995-6

Nominee, Duke University Alumni Distinguished Teaching Award, 1999

Nominee, Rowman-Littlefield Award for Innovative Teaching, 1996-7, 1997-8

Horace H. Rackham Dissertation Fellowship, 1990

Gerald R. Ford Dissertation Fellowship, 1989-1990

Horace H. Rackham Predoctoral Dissertation Fellowship, 1988-1989

National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship, 1983-1986
Phi Beta Kappa

BOARD MEMBERSHIP

Advisory Board Member, MIT Election Data and Science Lab. 2016 - present.
National Advisory Board Member, Vote @ Home Institute. 2018 - present.
Advisory Council Member, Oregon Values and Beliefs Center, 2019 - present.

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Gronke, Paul. 2000. *Settings, Campaigns, Institutions, and the Vote: A Unified Approach to House and Senate Elections*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

ARTICLES IN REFEREED JOURNALS

- Gronke, P. , Hicks, W. D., McKee, S. C., Stewart, C. and Dunham, J. 2019. "Voter ID Laws: A View from the Public." *Social Science Quarterly*. 100: 215-232.
- Bowler, Shaun, Thomas Brunell, Todd Donovan, and Paul Gronke. 2015. "Election Administration and Perceptions of Fair Elections." *Electoral Studies*. 38(2015): 1-9.
- Gronke, Paul and Peter Miller. 2012. "Voting by Mail and Turnout in Oregon: Revisiting Southwell and Burchett." *American Politics Research*. 40(6): 976-997.
- Gronke, Paul. 2012. "When and How to Teach Election Law in the Undergraduate Classroom." *St. Louis Law Review* 56(3): 735-746.
- Gronke, Paul and Darius Rejali. 2010. "U.S. Public Opinion on Torture, 2001-2009." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 43:437-444.
- Gronke, Paul. 2008. "Early Voting Reforms and American Elections." *William and Mary Law Review*. 17(2): 423-451.
- Gronke, Paul, Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum and Peter Miller. 2008. "Convenience Voting." *Annual Review of Political Science*. Volume 11: 437-455.
- Gronke, Paul and Daniel Krantz Toffey. 2008. "The Psychological and Institutional Determinants of Early Voting." *Journal of Social Issues*. 64(3): 503-524.
- Gronke, Paul, Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum, and Peter Miller. 2007. "Early Voting and Turnout." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 40(4): 639-645.
- Gronke, Paul and Timothy E. Cook. 2007. "Disdaining the Media? Americans' Changing Attitudes Toward the News." *Political Communication*. 24(3): 259-281.
- Cook, Timothy E. and Paul Gronke. 2005. "The Skeptical American: Revisiting the Meanings of Trust in Government and Confidence in Institutions." *Journal of Politics*. 67(3).
- Gronke, Paul and Brian Newman. 2003. "From FDR to Clinton, from Mueller to ?? A Field Essay on Presidential Approval." *Political Research Quarterly*. 56(4): 501-12.
- Gronke, Paul, Jeffrey Koch, and J. Matthew Wilson. 2003. "Follow the Leader? Presidential Approval, Perceived Presidential Support, and Representatives' Electoral Fortunes." *Journal of Politics* 65(3): 785-808.
- Gronke, Paul and John Brehm. 2002. "History, Heterogeneity, and Presidential Approval." *Electoral Studies* 21:425-452
- J. Matthew Wilson and Paul Gronke. 2000. "Concordance and Projection of Representative's Roll Call Votes." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*. XXV: 445-67.
- Gronke, Paul and J. Matthew Wilson. 1999. "Competing Redistricting Plans as Evidence of Political Motives: The

- North Carolina Case." *American Politics Quarterly*, 27: 2 (April) 147-176.
- Alvarez, R. Michael and Paul Gronke. 1996. "Constituents and Legislators: Learning About the Gulf War Resolution." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, February, 1996: p. 105-128.
- Gronke, Paul. 1992. "Overreporting the Vote in the 1988 Senate Election Study: A Response to Wright." *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, February, 1992: p. 113-129.
- Kinder, D.R., G. Adams, and P. Gronke. 1989. "Economics and Politics in 1984." *American Journal of Political Science*, 33: 491-515.
- Page, B.I., R.Y. Shapiro, P. Gronke, and R. Rosenberg. 1985. "Constituency, Party, and Representation in Congress." *Public Opinion Quarterly*. 48: 741-756.

BOOK CHAPTERS

- Gronke, Paul and Peter Miller. 2019. "Early Voting in America: Public Usage and Public Support". In Ben Griffith (ed), *America Votes! 4th Ed.* Cleveland OH, Lachina Publishing.
- Gronke, Paul and Jacob Canter. 2016. "Convenience Voting and American Election Law." In Ben Griffith (ed), *America Votes! A Guide to Election Law and Voting Rights 2nd Ed.* Cleveland OH, Lachina Publishing.
- Gronke, Paul. 2015. "Voter Confidence as a Metric of Election Performance." In Barry Burden and Charles Stewart III (eds), *Measure of American Elections*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gronke, Paul. 2014. "Early Voting After *Bush v. Gore*." In R. Michael Alvarez and Bernard Grofman (ed), *Election Administration in the United States A Decade After Bush v. Gore*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, Peter, Paul Gronke, and Darius Rejali. 2014. "Torture and Public Opinion: The Partisan Dimension." In Tracy Lightcap and James Pfiffner (eds), *Examining Torture: Empirical Studies of State Repression*. New York: Palgrave.
- Gronke, Paul. 2012. "Early Voting: The Quiet Revolution in American Elections." In Matthew Streb (ed), *Law and Election Politics: The Rules of the Game*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Gronke, Paul, James Hicks, and Timothy E. Cook. 2009. "Trust in Government and in Social Institutions." In Norrander and Wilcox (eds), *Understanding Public Opinion*. Washington DC: CQ Press.
- Gronke, Paul and Brian Newman. 2009. "Public Evaluations of Presidents." In George Edwards III and William Howell (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the American Presidency*, pp. 232-253. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gronke, Paul, Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum, and Peter A. Miller. 2008. "From Ballot Box to Mail Box: Early Voting and Turnout." In Cain, Tolbert, and Donovan (eds), *Democracy in the States: Experiments in Elections Reform*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institute Press.
- Gronke, Paul and Eva Galanes-Rosenbaum. 2008. "The Growth of Early and Non-Precinct Place Balloting: When, Why, and Prospects for the Future." In Ben Griffith (ed), *America Votes! A Guide to Election Law and Voting Rights*. Cleveland, OH: Lachina Publishing.
- Gronke, Paul. 2006. "Public Opinion" and "The Election Campaign." In *World Book Encyclopedia*. Chicago, IL: World Book Publishing.
- Feaver, Peter D., Paul Gronke, and David Filer. 2004. "The Reserves and The Guard: Standing in the Civil-Military Gap Before and After 9/11." In *Reserve Component Contributions to the All Volunteer Army*. Washington, DC: National Defense University.
- Gronke, Paul. 2003. "Politics." In Bigdoli, Hossein (ed), *The Internet Encyclopedia*. New York: John Wiley. (Peer reviewed contribution)
- Gronke, Paul. 2003. "The Election Campaign." In *World Book Encyclopedia*. Chicago, IL: World Book Publishing.
- Gronke, Paul and Peter D. Feaver. 2001. "Uncertain Confidence: Civilian and Military Attitudes about Civil-Military Relations." In Richard Kohn and Peter D. Feaver, *Soldiers and Civilians: The Civil-Military Gap and American National Security*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

POLICY REPORTS (PRIMARY AUTHOR OR CO-AUTHOR)

- “Stewards of Democracy: The Views of American Local Election Officials.” June 2019. With Natalie Adona, Paul Manson and Sarah Cole. Democracy Fund, Washington DC. Report URL: <https://www.democracyfund.org/publications/stewards-of-democracy>
- “Understanding the Voter Experience: The Public’s View of Election Administration and Reform.” October 2018. With Natalie Adona. Democracy Fund, Washington DC. Report URL: <https://www.democracyfund.org/publications/understanding-the-voter-experience-the-publics-view-of-elections>
- “Who Votes with Automatic Voter Registration? Impact Analysis of Oregon’s First-In-The-Nation Program.” June, 2017. With Rob Griffin, Tova Wang, and Liz Kennedy. The Center for American Progress, Washington D.C. Report URL: <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/democracy/reports/2017/06/07/433677/votes-automatic-voter-registration/>
- “Survey Validation Study.” August 15, 2013. With Lonna Atkeson and Michael McDonald. Report prepared for the Federal Voting Assistance Program, Washington DC.
- “Residual Voting in Florida.” October 2010. Washington, DC: The Pew Charitable Trusts. Available online at http://www.pewcenteronthestates.org/uploadedFiles/Florida_Residual_Vote_report.pdf?n=3568.
- “Data For Democracy: Improving Elections Through Metrics and Measurements.” November, 2008. Washington, DC: The Pew Charitable Trusts. Available online at http://www.pewcenteronthestates.org/report_detail.aspx?id=46600. Organize conference that preceded this report; Oversaw editing and production of report.
- “The 2006 Election Day Survey.” November 2007. With Kimball Brace and Clark Bensen, submitted to the Election Assistance Commission.
- “Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act: UOCAVA. Survey report findings.” September 2007. With Kimball Brace and Clark Bensen, submitted to the Election Assistance Commission.
- “The Impact of the National Voter Registration Act: A Report to the 110th Congress.” June 30, 2007. With Kimball Brace and Clark Bensen, submitted to the Election Assistance Commission.
- “Ballot Integrity under Oregon’s Vote by Mail System.” June 15, 2005. Prepared for the Commission on Federal Election Reform, co-chaired by President Jimmy Carter and the Honorable James S. Baker III.

POLICY REPORTS: CONTRIBUTED MATERIALS, RESEARCH, AND WRITING

- “Maryland Voting Systems Study.” December 2010. Prepared by Research Triangle International for the Maryland Department of Legislative Services.
- “Findings and Recommendations for Integrating GIS into the Oregon Central Voter Registration System.” May 2010. With Bryce Gartrell, Ben McLeod, Anthony Iaccarino, and Tim Flez. Submitted to the Division of Elections, State of Oregon.
- “The 2008 Election Day Survey.” 2009. Coauthored as part of a subcontract with the Research Triangle Institute and the EAC.
- “Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act: UOCAVA Survey Report Findings.” 2009. Coauthored as part of a subcontract to the Research Triangle Institute and the EAC.
- “The Impact of the National Voting Registration Act: A Report to the 111th Congress.” 2009. Coauthored as part of a subcontract to the Research Triangle Institute and the EAC.

ADDITIONAL WRITINGS AND RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

BLOGS

"Election Security and the 2016 Voter Experience." December 2, 2016.

<http://www.democracyfund.org/blog/entry/election-security-and-the-2016-voter-experience>

"Americans have become much less confident that we count votes accurately." August 10, 2016.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/08/10/are-u-s-voters-confident-in-their-electoral-system-yes-and-no/>

"More states are registering voting automatically. Here's how that affects voting." June 16, 2016.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/06/16/more-states-are-registering-voters-automatically-heres-how-that-affects-voting/>

Ongoing blogging, <http://earlyvoting.net>

OP-EDS, TEXTBOOKS, OTHER WRITING

Textbook essays, "Applying the Principles: Politics in the News." Sixteen essays analyzing news stories for the 10th edition of Lowi, Ginsberg, and Shepsle *American Government*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2007.

Book Review. Dennis Thompspon, *Just Elections*. *Congress and the Presidency*.

Textbook essays, "Applying the Five Principles of Politics" Sixteen analytical essays for the 9th edition of Lowi, Ginsberg, and Shepsle, *American Government*. New York: W.W. Norton. Summer 2005.

Textbook essays, "Behind the Lines: Understanding the News." Sixteen essays analyzing news stories for the 9th edition of Lowi, Ginsberg, and Shepsle, *American Government*. New York: W.W. Norton. Summer 2005.

OpEd, "Electing to Change How We Vote; Use of mail-in ballots -- however cheap and convenient they might be -- could erode democratic choice." *Los Angeles Times*, Editorial, October 16, 2003.

Book Review, Bartels, Larry and Lynn Vavreck (eds). *Campaign Reform*. In *American Political Science Review* 95(December 2001).

Book Review, Krasno, John. *Challengers, Competition, and Reelection*. In *Congress and the Presidency* 1996 (Fall).

WORKING AND CONFERENCE PAPERS (PREVIOUS 10 YEARS)

2020. With Jay Lee. "The Problems of Minimal Support: Considerations for an Establishment Survey of Local Election Officials." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, PR.

2020. With Paul Manson and Natalie Adona. "Staffing the Stewards of Democracy: the Demographic and Professional Profile of America's Local Election Officials." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, San Juan, PR.

2019. With Ellen Seljan and Matthew Yancheff. "Happy Birthday! You Get To Vote!" Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.

2019. With Christopher Mann and Natalie Adona. "Framing Automatic Voter Registration: Partisanship and Public Understanding of Automatic Voter Registration." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.

2019. With Evan Crawford and Paul Manson. "Surveying Local Election Officials in the United States: Methodological Considerations." Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Southern Political Science Association, Austin, TX.

2018. With Robert Griffin, Eric McGhee, and Mindy Romero. "AVR, Voter Registration, and Voter Turnout in Oregon." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.

2018. With Jack Santucci. "Can We Bolster Voter Confidence through Election Administration?" Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.

2017. With Robert Griffin, Eric McGhee, and Mindy Romero. "Voter Registration and Turnout under 'Oregon Motor Voter': A Second Look." Paper presented at the Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration Conference,

Portland OR, July 2017. Revised version presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, September 2017.

2017. With Bryant, Lisa. "A First Look at Voter Confidence and Trust in American Elections in 2016." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL.
2015. With Phillip Ardoin and Martha Kropf. "Town vs. Gown: College Students and Voting in College Towns." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL.
2015. With William D. Hicks, Seth C. McKee, Charles Stewart, and James Dunham. "Voter ID Laws: A View from the Public." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago IL.
2013. "Are we confident in voter confidence? Observations on perceptual measures of electoral integrity." Paper presented at Workshop of the Electoral Integrity Project, Cambridge, MA, June 3, 2013.
2013. With Charles Stewart III. "Early Voting in Florida." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.
2012. With Jacob Canter. "Voter Confidence and the Quality of the Vote Count." Paper presented at the Measuring Democracy Conference, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston MA, June 2012.
2011. With Kambiz GhaneaBassiri. September, 2011. "Explaining American Anti Muslim Opinion." Paper presented at the "Muslims in the US and Europe: Islamophobia, Integration, Attitudes, and Rights." Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.
2011. With Darius Rejali and James Hicks. "Explaining American Support for the use of Torture." Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the International Society for Political Psychology. Istanbul, Turkey.
2011. With James Hicks. "Bush v. Gore: A Critical Juncture in Early Voting?" Paper presented at "Bush v. Gore: Ten Years After." Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine, April 16-17, 2011.
2009. With James Hicks. "Early Voting: The Rhetoric and The Reality of Election Reform." Paper presented at the Annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
2009. With Peter Miller. "Voting by Mail in Washington and Turnout." Working paper.

SYMPOSIA, COLLOQUIA, NOTABLE SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS

MEDIA AND OTHER PUBLIC APPEARANCES

- Election night analyst, KATU-TV, May 17-18, 2016.
- Invited panelist, Portland City Club Event "The Supreme Court Speaks on Marriage Equality". June 28, 2013
- Moderator, Portland City Club Debate for Metro Council President. October 2010.
- Invited to speak in opposition, City Club Debate on Measure 65 (Top Two Primary), October 2008.
- Thousands of appearances in press outlets as an expert on early voting, election reform, and elections.
- Television appearances include regular appearances on "Your Voice: Your Vote" (KATU-TV, Portland OR); 2012 and 2010 election night commentary (KGW-TV, Portland OR), and numerous on camera interviews on local and national outlets, including KGW, KATU, NBC Today Show, the O'Reilly "Factor", and other local and regional newscasts.
- Radio commentary on Oregon Public Radio's "Think Out Loud," interviews on NPR national and regional news programs (All Things Considered, Weekend Edition, etc.), and many other regional and national outlets

ELECTION REFORM AND ADMINISTRATION ACTIVITIES

- Invited Speaker, Auburn Symposium on Election Administration, Auburn, AL. Oct. 14-16, 2019.
- Invited Speaker, California Association of Clerks, Records, and Elections Officials, San Francisco, CA, July 25, 2019.
- Invited Speaker, Western States Elections Conference, Stevenson, WA, July 7th, 2019.

Invited Panel Participant, Election Assistance Commission's Election Data Summit, Washington D.C., June 27, 2019.

Invited Speaker and Breakout Group Leader, Expanding Voting Options Conference, Washington D.C., June 20th, 2019.

Invited Speaker, "How Data and Academic Research Can Improve Election Administration." Oregon County Clerk Winter Meeting, February 2018.

Invited Speaker, "Increasing Voter Turnout –the Academic Perspective." NASED, August 24, 2017.

Invited speaker, Election Policy Summit, Pennsylvania Department of State. "Early Voting/No Excuse Absentee Voting." April 19, 2017.

Invited speaker and participant, U.S. Election Assistance Commission Election Data Summit, August 12-13, 2015.

Panelist and Moderator, "Oregon's Automatic Voter Registration and Other Registration Initiatives," National Conference of State Legislature Legislative Summit, Seattle, WA, August 3, 2015.

Expert Witness, Presidential Commission on Election Administration, Denver, CO, August 8, 2013 .

Invited speaker, Pew Center on the States' Election Initiatives "Voting in America 2012 Post-Election Summit," Washington DC, Dec. 10-11, 2012.

Invited speaker, National Association of County Officials annual meeting, Portland, OR July 2011.

Invited speaker, National Association of Clerks, Recorders, and County Officials annual meeting, Portland, OR July 2011.

Witness, DC City Council Subcommittee on Government Operations and the Environment, Hearing on the election readiness for the April 26, 2011 special election, January 19, 2011.

Invited speaker, Pew Center on the States Journalists' briefing for the 2010 election, San Francisco, CA. October 2010.

Invited participant, DEMOS Planning Conference, Washington DC. September 4, 2010.

Invited participant and steering committee member, "Performance Index of Elections," an initiative of the Pew Center on the States, Providence, RI, July 2010-ongoing.

Invited participant, DEMOS Conference on Election Day Registration, Chicago, IL. April 2010.

Organizer and Host, "Time Shifting the Vote: The Early Voting Revolution in America." Conference organized by the Early Voting Information Center at Reed College under the auspices of the Pew Center on the States. The conference brought thirty-five academic experts, election officials, and policy makers together to present research and craft policy recommendations. October 9-10, 2009.

Invited Speaker, Maryland Association of Election Officials. Rocky Gap, MD. June 7-9 2009.

Discussion Leader, AEI/Brookings Election Reform Project Conference on Election Reform. June 2, 2009.

Committee member, 2008/2009 Study Group on the Future of Elections in Kansas. Office of the Kansas Secretary of State.

Invited speaker, 2009 winter meeting of the National Association of Secretaries of State, Washington DC.

Plenary speaker, panel leader, and panel organizer, "Voting in America: The Road Ahead." Conference organized by the Pew Charitable Trusts' Make Voting Work project. Washington, DC. December 8-10, 2008.

Invited Speaker, "Making Elections Work: The Law and the Process After November." December 4, 2008 conference co-sponsored by the AEI/Brookings Election Reform project, the *Election Law Journal*, and the University of California Washington Center.

Invited Speaker, Journalists Briefing in Preparation for the 2008 General Election. Democratic and Republican National Conventions. August and September 2008.

Organizer, "Data for Democracy Conference." Conference sponsored by the Pew Center on the States. Washington, DC. May 2008.

Invited Speaker, Journalists' Briefing in Preparation for the 2008 Primaries. Pew Charitable Trusts and electionline.org, San Francisco, CA. December 2007.

Invited participant and presenter. "The Growth of Early Voting: When, Why, and Prospects for the Future."
Legislatures and Election Reform Institute, Aspen, CO. November 14-16, 2007.

Invited speaker, 2007 Summer Meeting of the National Association of Secretaries of State, Portland, OR.

Invited participant, Biannual Meeting of the Northwest Association of County Election Officials, Portland, OR.
May 2006.

ELECTION MONITORING

With the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights:

Russia Presidential Election, Spring 2018

Ukraine Presidential Election, Summer 2014

Albania Parliamentary Elections, June 2013

Kyrgyzstan Presidential Elections, October 2011

OTHER ACADEMIC CONFERENCES AND INVITED LECTURES

Co-Organizer and Convener, Inaugural Election Sciences, Reform, and Administration Conference. July 27-29, 2017.
Portland State University and Reed College. <https://blogs.reed.edu/election-science/>

Organizer, Election Sciences Working Group for the American Political Science Association Annual Meeting,
Philadelphia, PA, 2016.

Invited presenter, "Measures of American Elections Conference," Massachusetts of Technology, June 18-19, 2012.

Invited participant and presenter. "Political Science in the Liberal Arts." AALAC Workshop, Amherst College,
Amherst MA, November 11-12, 2011.

Invited participant and presenter. "Muslims as Enemy? Explaining American Anti-Muslim Attitudes." Paper
presented at the Islam in the Public Sphere Conference, WISER Center at the University of Washington, Seattle,
WA. June 2011.

Invited participant and presenter. "Bush v. Gore: Ten Years After." Center for the Study of Democracy, University of
California, Irvine. April 16-17, 2011.

Invited participant and presenter. "Democracy Index Conference." Moritz School of Law, Columbus, OH. September
28-29, 2007.

Invited participant and presenter. "Academic Conference on Elections Research." AEI/Brookings Election Reform
Project, Washington DC. May 18, 2007.

Invited participant and presenter. "Early Voting and Technology." Caltech/MIT Voting Technology Project Vendor's
Conference, Pasadena CA. March 13, 2007.

Invited participant. "Conference on Election Reform." Conference sponsored by the AEI/Brookings Election
Reform Project, Washington DC. May 23, 2006.

Paper presenter and participant. "Early Voting and Progressive Mobilization." Presented at the Progressive Targeting
Conference, sponsored by the Center for American Progress, Washington DC.

Invited participant. "Vote by Mail: The Academic Perspective." Pew Conference on Vote by Mail and Campaign
Conduct, Portland OR, November 2003.

Invited Lecture. "Disdaining the Media: Changing American Attitudes Toward the News." University of Washington,
April 2001.

COLLEGE AND DEPARTMENTAL LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Co-Chair, Ad Hoc Committee on Governance, 2017-18.

Chair, Reed College Institutional Review Board, 2016-17.

Member. Dean's Search Committee. 2009-10.

Chair. Department of Political Science, Reed College. September 2001-August 2004; January 2005-August 2007; July 2009-2010

Member (campus-wide elective position). Committee on Academic Planning and Policy. 2006-2007.

Chair. tenure track Environmental Politics Search 2009-10; visiting American Politics Search 2006-7; tenure track IR/Comparative Search, 2005-6; visiting searches (various fields) 2009-10, 2005-6, 2003-4.

Director. Reed Public Policy Workshop. 2001-2002; 2005-present

Organizer and coordinator. Ducey and Munk-Darling International Affairs lecture series. 2002-2007 (http://web.reed.edu/public_policy_series), 2009-present

Official Representative. Inter University Consortium for Political and Social Research. 2001-present.

Elected member. Duke University Arts and Sciences Council. 1998-9.

OTHER INSTITUTIONAL AND DEPARTMENTAL ACTIVITIES

Campus wide lectures:

Post Election Roundtable for Parent/Family Weekend, November 2010 and November 2008.

Alumni Affairs and College Development:

Reed Reunions 2017:

Class of '67 Salon: "What Happened? And What Happens Next?"

Public Lecture: "Perspectives on the 2016 Election and Beyond"

Presentation and Discussion, "Collaborative Learning in the Age of Big Data"

Forum for Advancing Reed Lunch Speaker, September 17, 2016.

Reed Alumni Travel-Study Group Leader: LBJ and the Hill Country, April 2013 and April 2014

Major gifts outreach visit, Redmond WA, June 2011

Foster-Scholz Lecturer for the Foster-Scholz Club (Reed alumni living in Portland), 2004

"Reed on the Road" Alumni speakers series, Fall 2004 in Chicago and Washington DC

Reed alumni board national meeting, invited speaker, Fall 2004

Lecturer on American Politics and Campaigns, Duke University Alumni Program (1995-1999).

Trustee events:

Participant on a roundtable discussion with Board of Trustees, "Impacts of the new administration on the academy", February 2017

Moderator for a 2012 Spring Trustee Dinner Roundtable: Running for Office, with Mark Weiner '04 and Suzan Delbene '83

Amanda Reed Lecture, Annual Trustee and CAT/CAPP Dinner. "Finding Snow White Among the Many Dwarves: The Modern Presidential Nomination System." October 5, 2007.

Student Affairs / Student Life:

Organizer and Emcee, "How to Change the World (and Get Paid Doing It), Reed Student and Alumni Career Development

Faculty Associate, Kilgo Quad (1998-1999), Trent Hall Dormitory (1999-2000)

Faculty in Residence, Pegram Dormitory (1995-98)

Committee membership (Reed College)

Institutional Research Board Co-Chair (2016-17); Facilities (2013-14); Staff/Faculty Benefits (2011-13);

Emergency Planning (2010-11); Ad Hoc Committee to Establish an Environmental Studies Program at Reed

College (2004-2006); Computing Policy Committee (2001-2004); Art Management (2001-2004); Ad Hoc

One-Card (2001-02).

Committee membership (Duke University)

University-wide Teaching Award (1998-2000); Department Undergraduate Affairs (1992-94, 1999-2000).

DISCIPLINARY AND SCHOLARLY LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Professional Associations

American Political Science Association.

Chair, Committee for the John Sullivan Award for Best Paper, 2016 Annual Meeting, Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior Organized Section
Parliamentarian, 2016 All-Members Meeting
Member, Executive Council of the American Political Science Association, 2011-13
Member, Audit Committee, 2011-2013
Member, Ad Hoc Committee on the Public Understanding of Political Science, 2010-11
Member, Trust and Development Committee, 2005-2006

Western Political Science Association.

Council Member, 2005-2008.

Organized Section on Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior (APSA)

Communications Director and Council Member, 2003-2006

Conferences

International Joint Conference on Electronic Voting (E-VOTE-ID).

Program Committee, 2016 and 2015.

Section head

Teaching and Learning, 2014 Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting
Communications and the Media, 2007 Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting
Elections, 2004 Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting.

Tenure and promotion reviews

Tufts University; Stetson University; University of North Carolina, Charlotte; John Jay College; Bucknell College;
University of Vermont; University of Utah; Randolph Macon College; Colorado College; Grinnell College

REFERENCES

Available upon request.

Last Updated November 11, 2019